

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

CLUB PED

HON. WILLIAM E. DANNEMEYER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Mr. Speaker, child abuse is a national tragedy. As the following article points out, it is also an American export of homosexual pedophiles. The North American Man/Boy Love Association [NAMBLA] calls the molestation of young boys a "right." Hear the rhetoric,

We speak out against the oppression endured by men and boys who love one another and support the rights of all people to consensual intergenerational relationships. (NAMBLA Bulletin)

Mr. Speaker, to deem the molestation of children as "consensual intergenerational relationships," or as an act of love, is a perversion of the mind and the soul. To call it a "civil right" is an act of insanity. But, unfortunately, the American Psychiatric Association [APA] removed pedophilia from their list of mental disorders as long as the fantasizing pedophile does not manifest any "subjective guilt."

If you are keeping score, the removal of fantasized pedophilia from the APA's list of mental disorders came shortly after the removal of homosexuality from the list. Society can't wait to know what is next. Better keep Fido leashed.

[From the Sunday Punch, Feb. 18, 1990]

A SILENCE OF SHAME—SONS OF ASIAN REFUGEES ARE BEING SEXUALLY ABUSED BY "FRIENDS" AND "HELPERS"

(By Jeanie Kortum-Stermer)

On top of all the other problems Asian refugees have faced in recent years, child molesters, often introduced through organizations set up to help families assimilate into American society, have been preying on very young boys in the Bay Area, according to police and social workers.

"These children are easy prey. It's like a lion circling a herd, picking out the weakest member of the pack to attack," said Glenn Pamfiloff, inspector for the Juvenile Division of the San Francisco Police Department.

One reason pedophiles like Asian boys is that they fulfill their fantasies; they are small in stature and often look younger than they actually are. Another reason is that Asian families seldom report sexual abuse. Recently immigrated from countries devastated by war, with an instinctual distrust of the police, they are unwilling to entrust strange authorities with what they consider to be humiliating secrets.

Inspector Pamfiloff has been working on child-abuse cases involving sexual molestation for the past 10 years and has a caseload of 20 to 30 at present. He has seen a rapid rise in those involving children from Asia and elsewhere in the Third World, perpetrated by men who have ingratiated them-

selves with the entire family, teaching the children English and serving as a valuable link to American society and culture.

"Many become trusted and honored family helpers," Pamfiloff says. "The families don't know America, they feel uncomfortable in this society, and what do they get? They get this wonderful guy, sent to them through a refugee organization they trust, who will teach their children the American way of life, who treats the family with utmost respect, buys the kids gifts that the family could never afford and completely wins their hearts."

Such was the case in a recent arrest in the Tenderloin involving three Southeast Asian boys ages 5 to 9. The suspect, sent to the family through a refugee organization ostensibly to help the children learn English, had been molesting the two older boys for 1½ years. He was beginning to assault the 5-year-old when he was arrested.

"The family told my outreach worker that there was an American man who was teaching the children English and taking them out," said "Tim Brown," the social worker who first began to feel something was wrong and later reported the case to the police. "This was a very isolated family, and there was something about the situation which made me suspicious." (For the sake of the children who are still in trauma, any names linking this case to the actual family have been changed.)

Even after the parents had been warned not to permit the man to be alone with the children while care providers figured out what was going on, the family allowed him to take them on outings. "It's the culture," said Reena Cho, a Southeast Asian outreach worker who was working closely with the family at the time. "If we think someone is doing something good for the children and we knew each other for a long time, it's very difficult to say no. We don't want to hurt. We just think that way."

After many hours of questioning, the children finally admitted to being molested. According to Pamfiloff, this is typical. "These boys are not going to talk about their sexual lives. They feel complexities in this terrible thing that they are involved with. They feel guilty about being used. There is a sexual response. They don't feel that they are victims, they feel like they are accomplices. They are too immature to understand all the implications."

It wasn't until Pamfiloff asked the 7-year-old boy if he wanted what had happened to him to happen to his 5-year-old brother that the boy finally broke down.

Reports Cho, the outreach worker: "The boy was crying. The man had been with the 9-year-old, but he was getting too big so he switched to the 7. Then, it turns out he was starting to take the 5-year-old. Sometimes right in their own home. The policeman asked, 'Did you play in bed?' The boy said yes. 'Did he touch your body?' The boy said yes, and then he pointed between his legs. 'Do you mean your penis?' the policeman said, and the boy said yes."

The reward would be taking the children out for cookies and video games.

One of the reasons Cho and Brown consented to interviews is that they believe it is

only through education that the problem can be avoided. "We didn't have this kind of thing in our native country," said Cho. "Even though I am an outreach worker, I didn't know about it."

"Refugee families really are vulnerable for exploitation," says Margaret Brodtkin, executive director of Coleman Advocates for Children and Youth. "As an advocate for children for the last 10 years, I am amazed how little this is spoken about. Few people know about it, care about it, speak out about it. It's just symptomatic of what a low priority kids are in this city."

According to Pamfiloff, refugee organizations, outreach workers, teachers and families are going to have to educate themselves quickly, for the problem is on the rise. Many of these men interested in boys become involved in activities—Nintendo, pets, aquariums, movies—that attract children of the age they're interested in.

"There was this one case in which this guy had tons of movies for kids," reports Pamfiloff. "He also had tons of child pornography. He videotaped the boy as he was molesting him. It was full molesting, about everything you can do with a kid. He brought him a lot of presents and also got him to bring his cousin around. They were around 8 or 9 years old. This was a refugee kid (the victim). He spoke English, but his parents didn't. And he shared the boys with his best friend."

"Another guy who just pleaded guilty of molestation recently focused on poor kids in the Tenderloin, which included a lot of Asian kids. He bought them skateboards. He wasn't making much money, but he would go out and buy them \$150 to \$200 skateboards. He liked the 12- to 13-year-old kids. He met the kids around the park."

Another molester was reported by a co-worker. "This guy, the suspect," Pamfiloff said, "was observed to be parked in the Tenderloin in a van and there was a boy wedged between the suspect and the door. He continues to be seen in the community with young boys about the age of 10, mostly Southeast Asians, probably Vietnamese."

A number of child molesters try to pick up children in Boeddeker Park, in the heart of the Tenderloin. "We've got a lot of kids hanging around there," says Pamfiloff, "even though it's almost taken up by our street community. The suspects make friends with the kids to get them up to their apartments. A lot of these guys have computers, and what Tenderloin kid wouldn't want to play with Nintendo or on an Apple?"

Pamfiloff reports that many but not all child molesters belong to a group called NAMBLA, North American Man/Boy Love Association, which has about 125 members in California and 600 worldwide. The group was founded about 12 years ago, and men with close ties to the group have been arrested in Sacramento, San Francisco, Boston and the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

NAMBLA says that sex between a boy, even an infant, and a man is completely natural—that it is merely misunderstood by a conservative society. "We speak out against

● This "bullet" symbol identifies statements or insertions which are not spoken by a Member of the Senate on the floor. Matter set in this typeface indicates words inserted or appended, rather than spoken, by a Member of the House on the floor.

the oppression endured by men and boys who love one another and support the rights of all people to consensual intergenerational relationships," the NAMBLA bulletin says.

"Over the years I have experienced some wonderful and meaningful relations with boys," writes one correspondent to the NAMBLA bulletin, "which in most instances never developed into a sexual relationship but to me, in many ways, were just as satisfying. Those that did go to full fruition in sexual contact did so out of mutual trust, love and appreciation. Most of those young men have now grown up, are happily married and we still are very good friends. Our past contacts are viewed as warm, friendly and exciting during the 'maturing' years . . . I am married and have a good wife and four wonderful children whom I love very much. There is still a very real part of me that needs these other intimate relationships to help me feel fulfilled and that I know, having been told, brings joy to my young partner."

As in the case with the three Southeast Asian boys, the "love" of which the pedophile speaks is a sexual attraction to a young boy. When the boy grows too big he is dropped.

"They say they are falling in love with the children," says Pamfiloff, "but as soon as the children pass the age limit they're attracted to, they're gone. When you love that kid, it locks them in at 9 years old; when he's 16, the interest is gone, you want that 9-year-old again. Few people really understand what these kids go through."

Says Kathy Baxter-Stern, director of the Child Abuse Council, "I've seen too many kids who have been victims of this sort of orientation and we're really talking about young kids. People say, well, you don't understand the lifestyle, but that's not what we're talking about. Kids who feel that they are gay and they come to San Francisco and get involved in the whole street stuff is not really what we're talking about. We're talking about much younger children being victimized."

There is a loosely organized international ring of pedophiles, according to Pamfiloff, many of whom belong to NAMBLA, who introduce men to young boys and exchange pornography.

This child-molester ring acts as a sort of underground railroad when one of them is believed to be under surveillance or near arrest. It even serves as a sort of international liaison between men and Third World boys, jokingly referred to by both the pedophiles and the police as "Club Ped."

"They prey on poor children in the Third World," said Pamfiloff. "Their trips go to Bangkok, Brazil, Manila and Sri Lanka, among others. They protect each other and even have a safe house in Sri Lanka in which they help to hide each other out."

Recently, he said, with the San Francisco police working closely with the Bangkok police, there was a big bust of some of these men who were running an orphanage in Bangkok. "Traditionally, it's one of the spots where you can get little kids," says Pamfiloff. "They had a safe house over there including a couple of our Bay Area pedophiles. A Massachusetts guy got arrested. Pedophiles went there on tours, and they had sex with the kids. It was all set up."

"They guy who is running the show was Steve Raymond. He was head of NAMBLA's steering committee and basically the leader for NAMBLA on the West Coast. He's in custody in Bangkok for child-molestation

charges. Also the caretaker of the orphanage was arrested and found with child pornography.

"The word that we have about what was going on there, and this is from federal authorities, is that they were running a junket where the child molesters would come to Bangkok and be assigned a boy as a guide to take them around to various places through the country. They would check into hotels together and do whatever they wanted with the boys."

"Protect yourself," NAMBLA urges its members in its bulletin. "As boy lovers, we can share much with each other—our feelings of love and attraction for boys, and our dream for justice . . . It is extremely dangerous to possess pictures that show you and a boy having sex . . . Sexual fascism marches on, but with caution you can avoid its death camps."

Pamfiloff has another warning, this one for parents. "If your kid is going off to visit some wonderful man all the time, someone who has all these puppies and kitties and is always down at Boeddeker Park, you should be a little bit suspicious."

For Asian families who have been through war and massive social disruption, it is a wrenching irony that their sons may be in danger from friendly men in a neighborhood park in their peaceful new homeland.

YOUNG WRITERS WEEK

HON. BILL EMERSON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, today, I am introducing a bill that will designate April 15 through April 21, 1990, as Young Writers Week. Since written communication is a vital element in our society, and schools in our country should strongly encourage the mastery of writing and improvement of the communications skills, I feel very strongly that we should designate such a week. Young writers should be honored for their diligence in the study and practice of writing and their contribution of stories, articles, novels, and essays to American literature.

I would encourage my colleagues to co-sponsor this worthwhile endeavor to let the young writers in our country know we care and are serious about the art of writing.

CLOSING AN AGRIBUSINESS TAX LOOPHOLE

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to include Federal irrigation subsidies in gross income.

The President's budget for fiscal year 1991 makes a persuasive case for increasing the responsiveness of American agriculture to market mechanisms. The budget cites major improvements in the farm economy which bring into question the need for farm subsidies: net farm income is at an all time high of \$48 billion in 1989; cropland used in 1989 is

estimated at 330 million acres, up about 12 million from the year before; the farm sector is economically stronger, while debt-to-asset ratio on farm balance sheets is expected to continue to fall 17 percent in 1989.

The President's budget also expresses concerns about the distribution of subsidy payments. Since the 1930's, the number of farms has dropped by 50 percent and commercial farms are much larger. A significant portion of benefits go to larger, wealthy farmers and the President's budget concludes that "in an era of limited resources, this is hard to justify."

I couldn't agree more.

I suggest that Congress start by taxing the benefit that farmers receive when they get subsidized water. There is a long history of misuse and abuse of water subsidies. From 1902 to 1982 Federal reclamation law and policy allowed the Bureau of Reclamation to provide federally subsidized water to Western farmers on up to 160 acres in certain areas. The intent of the law to help small farmers work land that had not been previously farmed.

The law was silent on leased acreage and the Bureau provided subsidized water to some large farms consisting of thousands of acres. Recognizing that this loophole needed to be closed and also that the acreage limit should be increased to reflect modern farming practices, the Reclamation Reform Act of 1982 increased the maximum acreage of subsidized water to 960 acres and attempted to close the loophole for larger farms by including language covering leased acreage.

However, according to the General Accounting Office, the loophole remains in place because the Bureau of Reclamation regulations do not preclude subsidized water for multiple landholdings—each within the 960 acre limit—that operate as one farm. The Bureau issued regulations which negated the intent of Congress as explicitly stated in the legislative history.

The General Accounting Office report on water subsidies of October, 1989—GAO/RCE-90-6—studied eight farms having enough acreage to be subject to the act's full cost provision. Six of the eight farms had reorganized through a combination of partnerships, corporations, and trusts to circumvent the 960-acre limit so that they could continue to receive the subsidized water. For example, a 12,345 acre cotton farm operating under a single partnership was reorganized into 15 separate landholdings through 18 partnerships, 24 corporations, and 11 trusts.

Why go to all this trouble? The water subsidy is liquid cash. It is a benefit which averages about \$100 per acre. In just four of the cases reviewed by GAO, the value of the water subsidy was \$1.3 million in 1987. And the benefit will flow year after year to agribusiness with thousands of acres in landholdings unless we change the law.

The operators of large farms found a way out of the Reclamation Reform Act of 1982 with the embarrassing compliance of the Bureau of Reclamation. Maybe it's time to take a different approach. My bill treats the value of the subsidy as income to the farmers who receive it. This cuts the value of the subsidy by approximately one-third and will serve

to decrease the reliance of all farmers on subsidized water. By moving toward full cost of water, I hope to promote water conservation and to provide a level playing field between farmers who receive the subsidized water and farmers who do not have this option.

The text of the bill follows:

H.R. —

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) section 90 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to illegal Federal irrigation subsidies) is amended to read as follows:

"SEC. 90. FEDERAL IRRIGATION SUBSIDIES.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—Gross income shall include an amount equal to the Federal irrigation subsidy received by the taxpayer during the taxable year.

"(b) FEDERAL IRRIGATION SUBSIDY.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—The amount of the Federal irrigation subsidy received by any taxpayer during any taxable year is the excess (if any) of—

"(A) the full cost charge for Federal irrigation water delivered to the taxpayer during the taxable year; over

"(B) the amount required to be paid for such water.

"(2) FULL COST CHARGE.—The term 'full cost charge' means the full cost determined by the Secretary of the Interior under paragraph (3) of section 202 of the Reclamation Reform Act of 1982 (43 U.S.C. 390bb(3)) plus any operation, maintenance, or replacement charges required in addition to any full cost charge.

"(3) FEDERAL IRRIGATION WATER.—The term 'Federal irrigation water' means any water made available for agricultural purposes from the operation of any reclamation or irrigation project referred to in paragraph (8) of section 202 of the Reclamation Reform Act of 1982.

"(c) DENIAL OF DEDUCTION.—No deduction shall be allowed under this subtitle by reason of any inclusion in gross income under subsection (a)."

(b) The table of sections for part II of subchapter B of chapter 1 of such Code is amended by striking the item relating to section 90 and inserting the following:

"Sec. 90. Federal irrigation subsidies."

"(c) The amendments made by this section shall apply to water delivered to the taxpayer in months beginning after the date of the enactment of this Act.

IN MEMORY OF WELLES BELIN

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, on February 15, 1990, I was saddened to learn of the death of longtime Scranton, PA, social and civic leader and my friend of many years, Charles Welles Belin.

I was fortunate to know Welles for about 30 years, and had worked with him in many social and civic capacities. He was an interested citizen of Scranton, of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, of the Nation, and the world.

I knew Welles Belin as a person who selflessly gave of his time and treasure to make

the world a little better place in which to live and work and raise a family.

I knew Welles Belin as a successful businessman and defender of the American free enterprise system.

I knew Welles Belin as a devoted husband and proud and caring father and my deepest sympathies go out to his wife Connie, his two daughters, Lucie Belin Steele and Mary Belin Rhodes; and his two sons, Dorrance and Charles, Jr. In fact, some years ago, his son Dorrance served as an intern in my office; an experience which was as richly rewarding for me as I hope it was for him.

I knew Welles Belin as an active award-winning leader of the Boy's Club of Scranton for 34 years.

I knew Welles Belin as a successful general chairman of the fund drive of the Community Chest of Scranton and Dunmore, now the United Way of Lackawanna County.

I knew Welles Belin as a director of the Hahnemann Hospital and its successor, Community Medical Center, for 43 years, helping to build it into the fine medical institution that it is today.

I knew Welles Belin as governor and vice chairman of the Scranton Area Foundation for 20 years; as Abington Township supervisor for 10 years, and as a member of the Abington Independent School District board for 10 years.

I knew Welles Belin as the recipient of the Americanism Award in 1971 for distinguished service to the community from Amos Lodge 136, B'nai B'rith of Scranton.

In short, I was privileged to know Welles Belin for a long, long time; a friendship I shall always treasure. And the Scranton community was privileged to have Welles amongst its midst for a long, long time; benefiting from his tireless energies and devotion of the higher principle of service to others.

Welles and I often worked together to find solutions to problems and I could always count on him to keep me posted on these projects.

Mr. Speaker, the Nation has lost one of its premiere citizens. If there can be found any consolation in our sadness at his passing, it is to know that Welles is now at rest, now at peace, now at home with God.

DEMOCRACY HAS EMERGED VICTORIOUS

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to congratulate Violetta Chamorro on her impressive victory in the recent Nicaraguan elections.

A host of international observers, led by the United Nations, the Organization of American States and former President Jimmy Carter, have determined that this was a fair and impartial election, and Mrs. Chamorro and democracy have emerged victorious.

President-elect Chamorro faces stern challenges to remake her beleaguered nation and to uplift her tormented people. I wish her well in these efforts.

TRIBUTE TO NEWARK COLLEGE STUDENTS FOR SUCCESS IN COMPUTER CONTEST

HON. DONALD M. PAYNE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I share with my colleagues in Congress the accomplishments of a group of students from the New Jersey Institute of Technology in Newark, NJ.

A four-member team from NJIT placed 18th out of 24 teams in the finals of the "International Computing Challenge," a contest between the Nation's top computer science students which tests their ability to solve problems using computers. The competition is held annually by the Association of Computing Machinery and sponsored by AT&T Computer Systems.

The students on the NJIT team are Nestor Voronka, a senior majoring in electrical engineering; Patrick Taylor, a senior majoring in computer science; Steven Muccione, a senior majoring in computer engineering; and David Charlap, a sophomore majoring in electrical engineering. Prof. Richard Coll is the team's adviser.

The NJIT team earned a right to compete in the contest by finishing first in a regional competition last fall. Nationwide, there were 12 regional contests involving 1,800 students on 459 teams from 354 universities. I am extremely proud of the team from NJIT and their success in this national competition.

Mr. Speaker, I know my colleagues join me in congratulating these four outstanding students and in wishing them continued success as they pursue careers in engineering and computer-related professions.

TRIBUTE TO JUDGE ANDREW J. PALMER

HON. CARROLL HUBBARD, JR.

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. HUBBARD. Mr. Speaker, it is my privilege to pay tribute today to a longtime friend, Judge Andrew J. Palmer of Paducah, KY, who died last Saturday at Southgate Health Care Center in Metropolis, IL, after a long illness.

Judge Palmer, 64, was admired by many western Kentuckians. He served as McCracken County attorney from 1965-70 and McCracken County judge/executive from 1970 to 1974.

Judge Palmer, a native of Richmond, KY, graduated from Eastern Kentucky University and the University of Kentucky School of Law before moving to Paducah and practicing with the late Joe Grace.

As judge, he was instrumental in the development of the McCracken County landfill, and became known as an avid opponent to city annexation efforts.

After leaving public office he raised American saddlebred horses and developed proper-

ty as he continued to practice law in Lone Oak.

A veteran of World War II, he also served as president of the McCracken County Jaycees—and was instrumental in construction of the Jaycee Civic Center—and the Lone Oak High School Parent-Teacher Association.

Judge Palmer was also a member of Masonic Lodge F&AM, the American Legion and the Lone Oak Lions Club. He also was a sponsor, manager and coach of Khoury League baseball, and was involved in the Lone Oak Park Board and Fire Department.

He helped organize the McCracken County Muscular Dystrophy Association, directed the mental health center and worked with the Paducah Association for Mentally Retarded Children, Red Cross, Boys' Club, and the USO.

Survivors include his wife, Joretta C. Palmer, three sons, Neville Palmer of Paducah, Andrew J. Palmer III of Lexington, and David W. Palmer of Alameda, CA; one daughter, Jennifer Richardson of Paducah; one stepson, Terry Trevaathan of Paducah; one stepdaughter, Tara Eddy of Kuttawa; two sisters, Nancy Pratt of Lexington and Rosella Grubbs of Danville, 11 grandchildren and several nieces and nephews.

He was preceded in death by his parents, Andrew J. Palmer, Sr. and Fannie Woolums Palmer.

The funeral for Judge Palmer is today at 1 p.m. at Roth Funeral Home in Paducah.

My wife Carol and I visited with Joretta, Neville, Jennifer, and other members of the family yesterday at Roth Funeral Home. Today, we again express sympathy to the Andrew Palmer family.

THE PEPPER COMMISSION

HON. WILLIS D. GRADISON, JR.

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. GRADISON. Mr. Speaker, this past year I have had the privilege of serving as a vice chairman of the U.S. Bipartisan Commission on Comprehensive Health Care—the Pepper Commission. The purpose of the Commission was to examine the problems in the current health care system that limit access for over 31 million uninsured Americans and prevent adequate and affordable long-term care services for the elderly and disabled, and to make specific recommendations to the Congress as to solutions to these problems.

While I support the goals of the Commission, I cannot support the commission's final recommendations. I would like to share with my colleagues my views on the Commission's recommendations along with my own recommendations. These are expressed in a letter I sent to Senator JAY ROCKEFELLER, Chairman of the Pepper Commission.

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, DC, March 2, 1990.

Hon. JAY ROCKEFELLER,

Chairman, The Pepper Commission,
Cannon House Office Building, Wash-
ington, DC.

DEAR JAY: The Pepper Commission, you as our able chairman, and our energetic staff,

have worked long and hard to meet the charge laid out by the Congress. I commend you for approaching the job with energy and a willingness for hard work. I am pleased that you kept the commission free of partisan bickering. It has been an honor for me to serve as a vice-chairman of the commission.

I am writing to offer you some further background on why I cannot support the thrust of the Commission's recommendations. These recommendations will be the first of a number of proposals on our health care system that will be issued this year; it will initiate, not end, public discussion about health care. I regret that unanimity eluded us. We share the same goals but differ on how to reach them.

That there are problems with the health care system in this country is not in question:

Far too many Americans lack health insurance; health care costs continue to increase at unacceptable rates; deteriorating financial conditions of essential health providers threaten to undermine their ability to serve the public.

At the same time the country faces these issues, there does not appear to be a constituency for pumping very large amounts of money into the present health care system. Certainly, there is no evidence that the public feels undertaxed. No wonder the Commission promises the moon but doesn't tell how to get there.

As you know, the federal government has failed to carry out the promises made to provide health care for the poor and other special populations. For example, only about 42% of the poor are now covered under Medicaid, where limitations on eligibility, the scope of benefits, and the level of reimbursement undermine its value to those it was intended to serve. To a lesser extent, Medicare is not fully meeting its promise, especially with regard to catastrophic levels of acute care costs. And, the one-size-fits-all design of the Medicare benefit package fails to meet the varied needs of the elderly.

Why Medicaid and Medicare aren't doing their jobs well is an important question, and one not much explored by the Pepper Commission. But whatever the reasons, it is simply bad public policy to make new health care promises to groups presently lacking adequate health insurance when existing programs aren't meeting their responsibilities. In fact, there is an unreal quality to the Pepper Commission's proposals for \$65 billion of new spending by the Federal Government alone, when the Congress has just been advised (in the President's 1991 budget) that the present value of the deficit in the Hospital Insurance Trust Fund (Medicare Part A) could be \$250 billion.

I am reminded of Milton Friedman's observation:

"Although the purveyors of health care may initially get additional resources by tapping the government till, that is a transitory phenomenon. When the government is taking over any activity, there is more money available . . . once the government has taken it over, the situation changes. Politicians have to move on to new fields and take over new areas in order to get votes. The result is that those areas already taken over get starved. Instead of there being more funds available, there are less."

Politicians as well as economists should know we live in a world of scarce resources. While the Pepper Commission's mandate is to recommend action, we cannot overlook the fact that if its proposals were adopted,

much less money would be available for other worthy causes: education, housing, the homeless, child care, cleaning up the environment, or raising future living standards by cutting the deficit (i.e., raising national saving), to name just a few.

MANDATES

The Pepper Commission wisely emphasizes the employer's responsibilities for health care, and I support an employer-based approach. It is the distinctive feature of the U.S. system just as the provincial-based plans are in Canada, and the centralized, government-provider system is in Britain.

But the recommend *mandatory* employer payments for most employee health care costs—even if delayed by a "trigger"—merely assures that the Commission's recommendations will be political non-starters in Congress. Small businesses—already adjusting to the new mandate of a higher minimum wage, and legitimately concerned about cost-increasing mandates ranging from parental leave, to Social Security tax boosts, to various disabilities proposals—will object to the plan, and they will be right to do so.

An employer mandate for health insurance is based on a false premise, namely, that small businesses are able but unwilling to meet their social responsibilities. This may be true of some, but the overwhelming evidence is that health care is simply unavailable and/or unaffordable to many small businesses. Especially in a tight labor market, it is in the interest of small business to offer health benefits in order to be competitive in recruiting and retaining employees. But the fact is many cannot afford to do so. To make matters even worse for small businesses, the Commission's recommendations would result in a \$10 billion shift of health care costs from larger to smaller businesses.

My own analysis is that the insurance reforms—which I support—will increase the availability of health insurance for small business, but they will also increase the cost. The cost increases will arise from prohibiting medical underwriting (e.g., consideration of pre-existing conditions) and from encouraging more businesses to self-insure basic benefits.

Philosophically, there are valid pros and cons to mandates. Over the years, mandates have been imposed for the minimum wage, workers compensation, Social Security, unemployment compensation, overtime pay, and so forth. But to pile mandate upon mandate without considering cost is to cause serious job losses, thereby harming the very individuals meant to be helped.

Few would object to a health care mandate if it cost, say, \$100 a year for each worker; and few would support it if it cost \$10,000 a year. Regrettably, it is somewhere in between: costs of \$3000 or \$4000 a year are neither uncommon nor trivial in amount. In my view, the Commission consistently understates the costs of health insurance today. In some cases, this increase in employers' payments for workers will cost jobs. Employers with many part-time workers will simply cut back rather than pay the extra tab. But even worse, many people who have jobs will simply see the purchasing power of their pay checks reduced over time as the mandate phases in. In some cases, as when these individuals have access to public hospitals or community health centers, they may be worse off with the coverage they are required to buy.

Like it or not, mandate-induced job losses must be balanced against the socially desirable goal of assuring employees and their dependents access to health care. Employer mandates of this type should be opposed until costs are brought under control—at least until the per employee costs for small businesses are brought in line with those of larger, generally self-insured, businesses. To do otherwise would, in effect, mandate higher costs for smaller employees than for large, hardly an enlightened public policy.

COVERAGE

Universal access is a worthy goal, but the costs—not alone financial—of reaching this goal suggest a more limited, more attainable objective. The problem with the present system is not the fact that some lack health insurance; it is that so many lack health insurance. Were the number lower, the health needs of the uninsured could be met through public hospitals, philanthropy, community health centers, even cost shifting. Designing a system with, say, 95% coverage, hard as that is, will be infinitely easier and less intrusive than a system meant to cover 100%. Even the Pepper Commission fails to assure 100%. What about uninsured employees of small businesses if the "trigger" is not pulled? Medical expenses not covered under the Commission's mandated health package? Premiums and deductibles which must be paid by beneficiaries? Prescription drugs and dental care? Better to acknowledge that 100% is unattainable and act accordingly than to pretend otherwise.

The Commission's "play or pay" plan has a basic political failing. Under its recommendations, about 70 million persons will be covered under the public plan excluding 33 million Medicare beneficiaries. Over 100 million Americans would then look to the federal government for their health insurance. As a result, the political pressures to increase benefits would likely result in costs to taxpayers far above what even the Commission estimates.

LONG TERM CARE

Policy researchers have found that the Commission's assumptions about the problem of long term care don't hold up very well in the face of the facts. As an example, consider the widespread belief that only a small percentage of elderly people will ever be able to afford the premiums for private long-term care insurance, even among the baby boom generation as they start to retire. Yet, as we heard in testimony before this Commission, even the Brookings/ICF model, which is widely quoted to this effect, has provided estimates of over 50 percent coverage if people begin paying during their working years or use some of their assets in their later years.

Moreover, we simply don't know how many people with substantial assets could pay premiums for such insurance. Yet the Commission proceeds on the assumption that a new non-means tested entitlement program is the answer.

There are two basic issues today in the financing arrangements for long term care: (1) the emphasis on institutional (nursing home) care rather than community (home) care and (2) the spend-down requirements of Medicaid. Happily, insurance is now becoming available permitting those who can afford it and qualify for it to protect themselves through the private sector. Unhappily, the non-means tested (social insurance) proposals of the Pepper Commission, rather than encouraging a private sector response,

may retard it. And even more ominous, the losers, if a major new social insurance program is adopted, may be the poor.

As Isabel Sawhill of the Urban Institute has pointed out, since 1962 all of the growth in federal spending as a percentage of GNP is accounted for by two non-means tested social insurance programs—Social Security and Medicare. That they have accomplished a great deal and are enormously popular is not at issue. The question is whether a large new non-means tested social insurance program can be adopted in the face of strong public opposition to higher taxes and major competing demands for the revenue resources.

My thinking about long-term care has been influenced by the University of Pennsylvania's Mark Pauly, who comments:

"In a world of unlimited resources, one would surely not want to ask people to reveal their wealth levels before they get public benefits, or to sacrifice some of the bequest they intended to leave. But in the real world of constrained resources, there has to be a cheaper way to deal with the feeling of 'stigma'."

Fortunately, there is a cheaper way. Long-term care is an insurable event. Obviously, few families can afford a \$25,000-a-year nursing home bill, but the evidence is that a large and growing number of Americans can afford long term care insurance. And the increasing affluence of many elderly, if not the elderly as a group, makes it possible to redesign the Medicare benefit package so that those who wish to have at least partial protection against long term care costs can have it, without increasing the costs of the Medicare program.

MY PROPOSALS

Unlike those who list the new health care expenditures they favor, and then explore how to pay, I start with the money, since that is the limiting factor.

To put the federal cost of the Commission's plan in perspective, consider this: \$65 billion in annual new spending is itself larger than all but five of the budget's 18 spending functions. Only the National Defense, Health, Medicare, Income Security, Social Security, and Net Interest budget functions are larger in dollar amounts. It is more than 10 times the cost of the catastrophic health care program that was repealed primarily because of its financing. And this figure—\$65 billion—which I believe is a low-ball estimate of the government's cost of the proposals, represents only the federal cost of the proposal. By the Commission's own (and likely low) estimate, an additional \$20.5 billion would be imposed on businesses.

Let me put it another, more apparent way: The annual additional federal cost of \$66 billion works out to over \$870 per year for every household that pays federal income taxes. My congressional district may be atypical, but I am confident that my constituents are unwilling to fork over that much more of their incomes to Uncle Sam. What, then, do I favor, and how would I finance it?

Before the first dime of new taxes is considered, we should seek revenue neutral means of paying for much needed improvements to existing programs. The present tax treatment of health care expenses of business is perverse and should be changed. Full deductibility for the employer, coupled with complete exclusion for the employee, has four undesirable results:

Tax subsidies for health insurance for those workers who have coverage, but not for those workers who do not;

Tax subsidies for workers covered by health insurance but not for non-workers;

Larger tax subsidies for higher-income taxpayers than for those in lower brackets; and,

Higher tax subsidies for more expensive benefit packages, regardless of income.

Capping the tax benefit could finance a refundable tax credit for those not covered by employer insurance, Medicare, or Medicaid. The refundable portion of the credit could be in the form of a voucher which could only be used to purchase health insurance either by buying into Medicaid, or by contributing to an employer-sponsored plan. The tax cap could be set at the level needed to finance an appropriate tax credit. The credit could "slide" depending on income and family size.

If employers were required to offer—but not to pay for—group health coverage, the availability of the vouchers may induce employers voluntarily to pick up all or a part of the costs in excess of the employee's voucher. Initially, the use of the voucher might be limited to maternal and child health benefits.

Further encouragement for small business would come from extending to the self-employed the same full deductibility of health insurance premiums provided corporations.

To illustrate how this could be revenue neutral, a cap of \$350/140 per month for family/single employer-provided coverage would finance a tax credit of \$200 per individual (up to \$600 per household) for the purchase of health insurance by those unprotected by employer-provided or public health insurance.

Needed changes in long-term care can be financed by offering actuarially equivalent and revenue neutral packages to new Medicare beneficiaries and bringing the Medicare eligibility age in line with the normal retirement age for Social Security benefits. This would also produce substantial savings to the general fund under Part B. Such a change would reflect the increase in life expectancy over what it was when Medicare went into effect nearly 25 years ago.

Under these criteria, at least two long term care packages might be available under Medicare in addition to current benefits:

Current benefits with higher deductibles and/or premiums coupled with catastrophic acute care protection; or

Current benefits with higher deductibles and/or premiums coupled with long term care protection. For example, raising the Part B deductible to \$400 from its current \$75 would save approximately \$172 per enrollee in 1991 which could be applied to a long term care benefit. Raising the deductible to \$600 would save \$249 per enrollee.

The Part B savings to the general fund means the change in the age for Medicare eligibility could finance:

Increasing the income and asset limits for sick spouses to the level set under the spousal impoverishment provisions of the Medicare Catastrophic Coverage Act; and

Broadening home health coverage under Medicaid.

At very little expense to the Treasury, taxpayers should be permitted, tax-free, to use part of their life insurance reserves, pensions, or IRAs to purchase long term care protection. The current tax treatment of employer-paid health insurance should be extended to employer-paid long term

care insurance. States should be granted waivers under Medicaid to experiment with stimulating the development of affordable private long term health insurance.

In conclusion, I find the Commission's recommendations far too costly. They rely too much on coercion and too little on state and local initiatives and private efforts. I believe that in tackling the nation's health care problems, the American people will respond better to incentives and the removal of regulatory barriers than to a gun at their heads.

The track record of federal programs in dealing with all manner of human problems should give us pause in trying to lay out a strategy and a fixed time-table as the Commission has done. Best to take measured action now and evaluate our progress on a regular basis.

Regrettably, after much hard work by all, the Pepper Commission's report will only raise false hopes. Instead of focusing on the possible, the recommendations make promises which cannot be kept.

Sincerely,

BILL GRADISON,
Vice Chairman.

SUPREME COURT DECISION ON SEARCH AND SEIZURE ABROAD

HON. DON EDWARDS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. EDWARDS of California. Mr. Speaker, last week the Supreme Court handed down yet another opinion restricting individual liberties and extending the power of the executive branch. The Court held that the fourth amendment, embodying the right to be free from unreasonable searches and seizures by the Government, does not protect foreigners living abroad from American law enforcement officials. The Court reached this result even though the individual will be tried in the United States under our laws.

Although the fourth amendment guarantees the rights of United States citizens living abroad and of aliens living in America, the Court's refusal to include foreigners within the amendment's scope failed to recognize that there are limits which American officials should honor wherever they act. As a matter of law, the decision is hardly defensible. As a matter of policy, the opinion disparages our role as a model for fledgling democracies who look to the United States for leadership in the area of individual liberties. Less and less can we rely on the judicial branch to enforce the principle that ours is a government of delegated powers.

This morning, the Washington Post and the New York Times carried editorials expressing concern about the decision, and I ask that they be made part of the RECORD.

[From the Washington Post, Mar. 5, 1990]

JUSTIFYING SEARCHES ABROAD

With increasing frequency in the past decade, the United States has sought to prosecute foreign nationals for violations of U.S. law abroad. Thus drug traffickers, securities manipulators, plane hijackers and others have been subjected to U.S. law and tried in U.S. courts for acts committed elsewhere. Last week the Supreme Court tack-

led a question that logically arises in these cases: Do the procedural guarantees of the U.S. Constitution, specifically the Fourth Amendment, apply to protect the defendant?

The case at issue involved the search, in Mexico, of the homes of a purported drug dealer, a Mexican national who was at the time in a U.S. prison. U.S. law enforcement personnel sought the permission and obtained the cooperation of Mexican police, but they did not obtain a search warrant from an American court.

A majority of the court found that while the Fourth Amendment applies to U.S. citizens here and abroad and to aliens resident in this country (whether legally or not) because the defendant in this case was not here voluntarily, the search of his property in Mexico was not governed by the amendment. The majority also pointed out the difficulty and the futility of obtaining a U.S. search warrant since that document carries no authority outside the United States.

But as he so often does, Justice Brennan has written a dissent of great clarity and force. Seeking a warrant, he argues, serves an important purpose even if it is not valid abroad. The procedure subjects the government to a neutral decision-maker, a magistrate who evaluates the claim of probable cause and sets limits on the search to be conducted. When the evidence obtained is going to be used at a criminal trial in the United States, why shouldn't the same standard be applied in the case of a foreigner as in that of a citizen, or even an illegal alien? Even more important, as Justice Brennan points out, "the behavior of our law enforcement agents abroad sends a powerful message about the rule of law to individuals everywhere. . . . For over 200 years, our country has considered itself the world's foremost protector of liberties. The privacy and sanctity of the home have been primary tenants of our moral, philosophical and judicial beliefs." Aside from the diplomatic problems involved in these searches—can you imagine the reaction if Mexican, French or Korean police were allowed to search American homes without demonstrating reasonable cause?—Justice Brennan points out the hypocrisy of the practice when it's carried out by representatives of this government.

Whether or not the Fourth Amendment applies abroad or search warrants are mandated, steps can still be taken to require a demonstration that proposed searches are reasonable and based on probable cause. Law enforcement agencies can take it upon themselves to make the case—the Army, for example, asks for U.S. warrants before wiretapping outside the United States—or Congress can require it. This country cannot continue to expand its criminal jurisdiction across international boundaries and maintain its reputation as a protector of civil liberties if a constitutional double standard is maintained.

[From the N.Y. Times, Mar. 5, 1990]

GUNBOAT LAW

According to the Supreme Court's peculiar reasoning last week, the Fourth Amendment does not protect a foreigner from a warrantless search by Americans of his home in his native country, and the use of seized evidence at his trial in this country. This 6-to-3 decision is to jurisprudence what gunboats are to diplomacy.

The Court says that the "right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches" does not embrace an alien who is

brought to American justice for crimes against the United States. Chief Justice Rehnquist says America can use this extra power at a time of increased paramilitary ventures abroad. He would have served the nation better by promoting, instead of naked power, the rule of law.

Federal Drug Enforcement Administration agents obtained a U.S. arrest warrant for René Martin Verdugo Uriquidez, a Mexican citizen and one of a band of violent drug smugglers. Mexican authorities picked him up in Mexico and brought him to the United States, where he has been convicted of the torture-murder of a D.E.A. agent. To prosecute separate drug charges, agents searched two residences in Mexico, with Mexican cooperation but no search warrant. Lower courts barred the evidence under familiar constitutional principles, but not the Supreme Court.

The Chief Justice, long known for his literal, narrow constitutional interpretations, said "the people" protected in the Fourth Amendment are different from the people whose rights are safe-guarded elsewhere in the Constitution. This was such a flight of judicial imagination that the junior Justice, Anthony Kennedy, said "with respect" that he couldn't use it to support the result.

Justice William Brennan's dissent offers a worthier lesson to a world now studying the U.S. Constitution as a model. In his view, the people it protects, citizen or alien, include those accused in our courts of violating our laws.

Agents could have got a search warrant for this defendant's home or office as easily as the warrant for his arrest. In an emergency, agents behaving reasonably could have found innumerable court-allowed excuses for not obtaining a warrant. The power to skirt the Constitution altogether was unnecessary as well as illegitimate.

Any restrictions on searches and seizures that occur "incident to American action," Justice Rehnquist wrote, "must be imposed by the political branches through diplomatic understanding, treaty, or legislation." That's an invitation to politicians to study ways to maintain America's reputation for justice. It's unfortunate that the judicial branch has made such a study necessary.

COMMENTARY BY WILLIAM
HERSHEY

HON. BOB McEWEN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. McEWEN. Mr. Speaker, recently I received a letter from Mr. Clayton Horn, the retired publisher of the Beacon Journal.

Mr. Horn wrote to me concerning an article by William Hershey of Federal trust funds which was published in the Beacon Journal on February 26, 1990.

For the past 4 years, I have been fighting to use the transportation trust fund surpluses to maintain and upgrade our Nation's critical transportation infrastructure. I welcome Mr. Horn's support for this effort and would like to commend this letter and the article by Mr. Hershey to my colleagues.

FEBRUARY 28, 1990.

DEAR BOB: I can't tell you how pleased I am that you are taking a whack at the dam-

nable practice of using the trust funds to help hide the size of the national deficit.

Money that is desperately needed for highways, bridges and airports is used to make the gullible people of this country believe we are living up to the provisions of the Gramm-Rudman law.

It's good to see Pat Moynihan also trying to do something for the Social Security System.

Wish I were still writing editorials!

Warmest regards,

CLAYTON.

**MISUSE OF TRUST FUNDS MAKES WARRIORS
OF MOYNIHAN, McEWEN**
(By William Hershey)

WASHINGTON.—Bob McEwen's not used to saying thanks to Democrats like Daniel Patrick Moynihan.

But the Ohio Republican from Hillsboro may make an exception.

By howling—and howling well—about the misuse of surplus money in the Social Security Trust Fund, Moynihan, a New York senator, may help McEwen in his four-year battle to pave highways, build and repair bridges and make airports safer.

What McEwen, a House member, and Moynihan have in common is disgust about how federal budget makers treat so-called trust funds. These funds are set up with taxes that are supposed to go for single purposes, rather than become part of the general budget.

(The "trust" part is ironic, because that's hardly what the funds inspire.)

Moynihans disgusted because the Bush administration, with a few nods and winks from willing Democrats, has been using a surplus of more than \$50-billion in the Social Security Trust Fund to help "meet" the targets of the Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction law.

By counting the Social Security surplus in Gramm-Rudman calculations, Bush and his pals in Congress have been able to avoid making more spending cuts or—"read my lips" forbid—raising taxes.

Moynihan has called for a cut in the Social Security payroll tax and for setting up a "pay-as-you-go" Social Security system.

For a lot of reasons, some political, Moynihan's bill isn't expected to be enacted into law soon. It has inspired the Bush administration to begin talking seriously about eventually divorcing Social Security funds from the rest of the budget.

McEwen wants to do the same thing with trust funds set up to build highways and bridges and improve airports.

In McEwen's opinion, taxpayers have been hoodwinked about the taxes they pay into these funds. They may think the 9 cents a gallon federal gasoline tax they pay goes to build highways. Or that the 8 percent federal tax they pay for airplane tickets goes to improve airports.

Some of the money generated by these taxes does go for the intended purposes. Some doesn't, however. McEwen estimates that a \$29-billion surplus has been built up in the transportation trust funds.

Like the surplus in the Social Security fund, this unspent money helps budget makers meet Gramm-Rudman deficit reduction targets.

"Americans are paying gasoline and airline taxes in good faith with the expectation that these funds are being used to keep roads and airports safe and in good repair," McEwen said.

"But that is not the case. Instead the federal government has held these funds hos-

tage to mask the true deficit. . . . Let's end the lie and lower gasoline and airline ticket prices, if we are not going to spend these funds on our roads and airports."

McEwen would like to spend the money on roads and airports, and he has introduced a simple-sounding bill that would be a first step. It simply excludes the money in these funds from the totals in the budget. This way, there'd be no incentive to build up surpluses because the extra money couldn't be used to meet deficit-reduction targets.

The debate Moynihan has sparked over Social Security is beginning to spill over to the other trust funds. McEwen, ever the optimist, can hardly wait.

"We've already identified all the bridges and highways," he said. "We could spend those (surpluses) responsibly this summer."

Maybe he'll invite Moynihan to a ribbon-cutting or two.

**STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF
HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLU-
TION 87**

of 174speech

HON. EDWARD F. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 27, 1990

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, as a cosponsor of House Concurrent Resolution 87, I urge my colleagues to support his resolution. The resolution expresses the sense of Congress that the Government of Iran extend to the members of the Baha'i community, the largest religious minority within Iran, the human rights to which all human beings are entitled. The resolution also urges the President to support the plight of the Baha'is through cooperation with other governments and the United Nations. We must support this resolution and show that we will not stand and watch as a foreign government abuses its citizens.

The Baha'i vision is one in which no religion is preeminent; no one religion can call itself the one true faith, for each religion is a facet of what can be called the truth. This view has placed the Baha'is at odds with much of the Islamic community. This conflict has been exemplified by the persecution of Baha'is by the Government of Iran. There are 300,000 Baha'is in Iran, and since the fall of the Shah in 1979, they have borne the brunt of Iranian religious fervor. More than 200 Baha'is have been executed. By 1982 all Baha'i students had been expelled from Iranian universities. Some believers were even forced to repay salaries and pensions earned under the earlier regime. This pattern of persecution was endemic during the early years of the Khomeini government.

Recently, conditions for the Baha'is have improved slightly. No Baha'is have been executed since 1987, and fewer than 20 Baha'is remain in prison. The Baha'is can now also reapply for school. Although persecution has not been so consistent in recent years, the Baha'is still experience discrimination.

The internationally community has consistently addressed the plight of the Baha'is through the United Nations. Between 1985 and 1988 the United Nations adopted four resolutions specifically mentioning the Baha'is and condemning Iran's human rights record.

For each of the last 8 years, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights and the United Nations Economic and Social Council have adopted resolutions concerning Iran's human rights record.

The Congress has also made a concerted effort to address Iranian abuse of the Baha'is. Congress adopted concurrent resolutions pertaining to Iranian human rights abuses and the Baha'is in 1982, 1984, and 1988. In addition, the Reagan administration repeatedly expressed support for the Baha'is, and I hope that the Bush administration will, upon passage of this resolution, continue our historical support for the Baha'is.

We tend to forget that Iran is not a homogeneous country, that there are minority populations within the country that are as dissatisfied with the current government as the international community. We rightly concentrate on the connection between Iran and international terrorism, for Iranian controlled terrorist organizations such as Hezbollah control the lives of America hostages. But we must also remember the Baha'is, for the Iranian Government's atrocious foreign policy is only an extension of its domestic policy, a domestic policy which justifies persecution of minority populations based on religious differences.

A recent report by Mr. Reynaldo Galindo Pohl, the United Nations Special Rapporteur for Human Rights in Iran, supports the purpose of this resolution. All religious shrines and many properties remain confiscated. In addition, Baha'is are rarely admitted to universities. It is still illegal to practice the Baha'is faith, for the Zoroastrian, Christian, and Jewish faiths are the only constitutionally recognized religious minorities. In his report the special rapporteur did state that the situation for the Baha'is was approaching de facto tolerance; he added, however, that continued monitoring was necessary due to past and current discrimination against the Baha'is.

Again, I urge my colleagues to support this resolution. The Iranian Government must know that the Government of the United States has not forgotten the Baha'is. The commitment that this resolution demonstrates is simple and thorough; the United States is committed to human rights, and the status of the Baha'is is no exception.

**TWO GERMANY'S GOOD, ONE
GERMANY BETTER**

HON. WILLIAM E. DANNEMEYER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. DANNEMEYER. Mr. Speaker, in his tale "Animal Farm," George Orwell described life on the farm after the animals chased out the farmer. The pigs, the leaders of the revolution, issued the slogan: "Four legs good, two legs bad," suggesting that the miseries of the four-legged race were due to the arrogance and tyranny of the two-legged creatures. Once set free, nothing would stand in the way of prosperity for all the animals.

Many years have passed and the animals have made great sacrifices in trying to build their future. But the more independent they

became of the two-legged race, the more hopelessly they were falling behind. On the tenth anniversary of the revolution, Comrade Napoleon, the Secretary General of the Four-Legged Party, the leader of the pigs, announced new directives—we may guess, under the names of perestroika and glasnost. The new measures called for the adoption of a political and economic structure imitating those of the two-legged race. It was an astounding spectacle to watch the pigs as they marched on their wobbly hind legs, chanting the new slogan: "Four legs good, two legs better."

THE BUGLES OF JERICHO SILENT

Since the creation of the so-called German Democratic Republic in the Soviet zone of occupation 40 years ago, the rest of the world has been chanting the slogan: "Two Germanys good, one Germany bad." It is true that the Western governments, including the government in Bonn, paid lip service to the ideal of eventual German reunification. It is true that they denounced the erection of the Berlin Wall and the shooting of citizens who tried to scale it. But there was no conviction in the commitment to German unity. Willi Brandt called it the living lie as recently as in 1988. Deeds were a far cry from words. Bribery, blackmail and ransom were paid on a regular basis to keep East Germany's gauleiters in power. Diplomatic recognition and other privileges of sovereign states were unconditionally granted to the regime. Ample commercial credits were made available, enabling East Germany to become the showcase of communism. Nobody, no politician, no journalist had the courage to speak the truth, namely, that oppression under Honecker was hardly distinguishable from that under Hitler.

The slave-keepers hailed the Berlin Wall as a monument to their victory. In January, 1989, Honecker predicted that the Berlin Wall will still be standing in 50 or even 100 years, to protect our Republic from thieves, not to mention those who are prepared to disturb stability and peace in Europe.

No sooner were the fortieth anniversary celebrations of the regime over than the Wall started to crumble. But unlike the walls of Jericho, it did not come down to the sound of the bugles from the outside. It came down in response to the wailings and prayers of the slaves inside.

Perhaps one can justify the silence of the bugles, and the lack of heroic display outside, in the name of realpolitik. But it would be fitting and proper if the Western powers would belatedly identify themselves with the aspirations of the people of East Germany, and accept with good grace the new slogan: "Two Germanys good, one Germany better."

THE FAULT LINE OF EUROPE

As many authors have observed, the inner-German border is the fault line of Europe. Pressures that have been building up over decades could cause unexpected tremors and quakes elsewhere, sending tidal waves to our own shores.

But unlike the San Andreas fault in California, the line in Europe is man made. And what man has made, man can also undo. In the closing decade of the century and millennium, there is no unfinished business pressing with a greater sense of urgency than the preven-

tion of a devastating earthquake emanating from the artificial and long-neglected fault line in Germany. The hour is late. Policy makers have fallen way behind events. They do not seem to understand what is happening in Eastern Europe. They do not see that East Germany, this monster that was created against the wishes of the people, and which carries the earmarks of the two most hideous ideologies ever known to man, Hitlerism and Stalinism, is on the verge of imminent disintegration. They have shown themselves reluctant to abandon the fantasy that the regime can be reformed, propped up, bolstered; that it has a mission to fulfill: the maintenance of the status-quo and pace in central Europe.

The introduction of free elections and free markets in East Germany could not revive this corpse in Europe any more than a new suit for Lenin's mummy could resurrect the dead dictator. The disintegration of the government in East Berlin is tantamount to the demise of East Germany, and the de facto reunification of Germany, whether the rest of the world is prepared for such a situation or not. Only union can bring order, stability and prosperity. The crumbling of the Berlin Wall under the incessant chipping of millions of chisels is the symbol of the obliteration of the partition of Germany, in answer to the wishes of 77 million Germans. There is little that politicians and governments can do, except quickly try to adapt their ways to the ways of history.

Nothing is more characteristic of the lack of leadership in the Western world than the fact Mr. Gorbachev was allowed to steal the show. He was the first to acknowledge that the two Germanys have embarked on an immutable drive toward unity, and to stand in their way was to risk losing any input in the process. By contrast, the pronouncements of Western leaders have been vague, evasive, and contradictory. Mr. Gorbachev has moved on the diplomatic chessboard against a weak Western position. Britain and France, for their own reasons, want German unity delayed indefinitely. The United States sees no harm in unity but would not volunteer to play the role of the honest broker, for fear of wounding British and French sensibilities. But nobody in the West, not even the West German political leadership, is prepared to contemplate a neutral Germany.

It is clear that German unity will not be a political contrivance, but a popular avalanche akin to the one that has brought down the Communist governments in the Soviet fiefdom during the unforgettable year 1989. What is not clear is that, when the hour comes, the leadership of the Western World will prove equal to the challenge of Mr. Gorbachev as he endears himself to the German people. The danger is that the Western governments will allow themselves to be set up as the stumbling block to German neutrality, not so much in opposition of the wishes of the Soviet leader as in opposition of the wishes of the German people.

DIVIDE ET IMPERA

The documents signed at Yalta and Potsdam in 1945 by the victorious allied powers speak of one Germany with several zones of occupation, making the ultimate reunification of Germany the charge of the occupying powers. The preamble of the Federal Republic

of Germany calls upon all Germans to achieve in free self-determination the unity and freedom of Germany. The idea of perpetuating two German states, one on each side of the fault line, is an affront to the ideals of humanity and freedom. It has never been officially endorsed by any government that has been freely elected by the people, whether German or non-German.

Yet there is a last-minute rush trying to lend respectability to the proposition that the permanent division of Germany is in the interest of world peace and progress. The sacrifice of national unity is seen as the atonement of the German people for the horrors of two world wars for which they are held responsible. Some even go so far as questioning the validity of assumptions underlying the quest for a German nation-state. They point out that, since Germany was united only from 1870 to 1945, unification may well be the anomaly and partition the norm. In suggesting that the Germans can overcome and redeem their past only by supporting universal values—peace, environment, economic and social justice—to the exclusion of their national aspirations, they profess to promote the universalist ideal.

We need not take these exhortations seriously. History does not follow the neat, preconceived ideas of visionaries. Rather, it follows its own dynamics. Holding a people collectively responsible for the putative sins of its forefathers is not compatible with the Western value system. It has been tried—notably, by Christianity, in the case of the Jewish people—and found reprehensible. The denial of unification in the name of opposing German nationalism does not make sense. Nothing would do more to awaken the dormant German xenophobia than such an unwarranted obstruction of this nation's just aspirations. When we peel off the rhetoric, the universalist ideal is exposed as a vain attempt to apply the age-old strategem of divide et impera.

WHO IS AFRAID OF A NEUTRAL GERMANY?

In failing to put German neutrality and the withdrawal of all foreign troops from German soil on the table, the Western powers missed an opportunity to show themselves magnanimous and trusting. The Soviets are now ready to exploit German sensibilities by asking the question: "Who is afraid of a neutral Germany?"

In the debate over Germany's destiny, the West should not assume that German public opinion will be unambiguously on NATO's side. Thomas Kielinger, editor of the conservative Bonn weekly *Rheinischer Merkur*, points out that foot-dragging by Western politicians can only make Germans question the value of their Western links. An opinion poll last year indicated that 71 percent of the West German population agreed with the idea of withdrawing all foreign troops from East and West Germany as a precondition for reunification. According to a poll by the daily newspaper *Bild*, 57 percent of the population of West Germany is prepared to accept neutrality. A public opinion poll by the Wickert Institute found that 9 out of 10 East Germans thought a reunified Germany should be neutral.

If there is one formula in Europe that in itself is a virtual guarantee of political and economic success for the benefit of the coun-

try concerned as well as its neighbors, then it is neutrality. Switzerland, Sweden, Finland, Austria have been showcases of stability and prosperity after they embraced neutrality. Thousands of Hungarians fought and died for the right to declare their country independent and neutral in 1956. It should not be beyond the wits of NATO planners to redraw the defence arrangements of the alliance on the assumption of German neutrality. It is time for our European NATO partners to make up their mind. If they do not want to have on their soil the surplus American troops evacuated from Germany, then the presence of these troops in Europe is not needed, and they should be brought home.

It is possible that, in its present moment of political weakness, the Soviet Union will drop German neutrality as a precondition for German unity. It would be a mistake for the West to use this as an opportunity to enlarge NATO with the human and material resources of East Germany. Statesmanship calls for German involvement in the decisionmaking. If we want to earn the respect of the people of East Germany, then we must let them speak for themselves. To pontificate on their future without consulting them is a sure way to alienate them. If it is true that they have left one military alliance only to get entangled in another, then we should let them say so. But the message they are sending through the opinion polls do not support this theory. What these messages show is that the people of East Germany are thoroughly fed up with the idea of living in a garrison state, having lived in one for 57 years.

DRANG NACH OSTEN IS BAD, DRANG NACH WESTEN IS GOOD

The most delicate question arising in the context of reunification is the status of Germany's eastern borders. As a signatory to the Helsinki agreement, West Germany has already renounced the use of force in solving territorial disputes. Yet the West German Chancellor has been repeatedly criticized for his failure to accept the existing borders—the Oder-Neisse line—as final. He is being exhorted by his Western allies that he should, in advance of the peace conference and without an argument, renounce any and all claims to the Eastern provinces that were taken from Germany in 1945 as war booty, after the native German population was uprooted and expelled.

Such a course of action would justify in retrospect the indiscriminate deportation of innocent civilians from their native land. The President of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Vaclav Havel, a man of uncommon moral courage, has shown the world the true road to reconciliation. In January, on his state visit to West Germany, he offered a public apology to the 3 million Sudeten Germans forcibly expelled from his country, for multiplying the horrors of World War II after hostilities have ceased.

No one has apologized to the East Prussians, Pomeranians, and Silesians; 13 million of them were condemned to suffer the fate of the Sudeten Germans in 1945, when Stalin pushed Poland westward on the map in pursuance of the reverse of *Drang nach Osten*—eastward thrust, as the policy of German expansionism was known.

The Allies were treating German civilians no better than Heinrich Himmler was treating the Jews—in the opinion of an eyewitness, British journalist Victor Gollancz, himself a Jew. The uprooting and deportation from their native land of 16 million Germans in Central Europe—ordered by Stalin and endorsed by President Truman and Prime Minister Churchill—was, in the words of another eyewitness, Anne O'Hare McCormick of the *New York Times*: "a crime against humanity for which history will exact a terrible retribution."

Moral retribution is now at hand. If the Western powers do not belatedly distance themselves from the 1945 land grab by the Soviets, if instead they try to pressurize Germany into obsequiousness, then they will lose the moral high ground they have been able to claim for themselves in their opposition to Hitlerism and Stalinism. They will appear as the willing accomplices of Stalinist tyranny, which to the Germans and other fair-minded people is every bit as reprehensible as Hitlerite tyranny was. The world will remember that the Western powers supported Stalin's expansionism of their free will—unlike most Germans, who had to support Hitler's expansionism on pain of death.

It is no use to argue that the aggressor must pay. In 1939, the Soviet Union was as much of an aggressor as Germany, against more countries, coveting more land. The Soviet Government practiced genocide at home and abroad on the same scale as the German. Soviet atrocities predated German atrocities. In the end, the Soviets could keep their share of the 1939 land grab, no questions asked. This is not making the aggressor pay; this is making aggression pay. That, sorry to say, is still the last word on the subject of aggression.

The Germans would not be serving the cause of world peace if they accepted the 1945 Soviet land grab as non-negotiable in advance of a peace conference. They may never be able to recover any part of their lost territories east of the Oder and Neisse rivers, but they may be able to keep their dignity. They have a moral duty to register a protest against the practice of uprooting and expelling innocent civilians from their ancestral lands. The unpopular role has fallen upon them to speak out for the protection of the victims of past and future territorial aggrandizement.

It is to be regretted that Western politicians could not muster the courage of Vaclav Havel. They can only blame themselves if Germany pillories the hypocrisy of the allied position, and exposes the double standard involved in their condemnation of aggression. The Western powers will have no leg to stand on if the Germans denounce the peace conference as a farce, a mammoth Munich, designed to appease the Soviets who gobbled up far more land than they can ever digest.

The United States would be better off if it permitted the German people to tell the world their side of the story and to bargain freely for the return of the disputed territories at the peace conference.

LAND-LEASE, LAND-PURCHASE

The effort to find a peaceful resolution to border disputes presents the Western powers with a singular opportunity for high-minded and innovative statesmanship. Throughout the

18th and 19th century, the principle and practice of leasing or purchasing territories between sovereign governments was well-established. The United States was successful in negotiating several such deals: The Louisiana purchase—from France in 1803; 800,000 square miles for \$27 million, the Alaska purchase—from Russia in 1867; 570,000 square miles for \$7.2 million, the purchase of the Virgin Islands—from Denmark in 1917; 136 square miles for \$25 million. With the advent of global wars, the practice went out of vogue. Or was it the other way around? Have wars become indispensable precisely because the practice of leasing or purchasing territories has fallen into disuse, and no alternative was available in settling disputes?

This is a serious question deserving a serious answer. But the League of Nations and the United Nations Organization ignored it, which may be the reason for the demise of one, and the decline of the other. War is still the only means of adjusting boundaries, as the examples of Korea, Vietnam, and Israel show. In the absence of an alternative, anachronistic border arrangements are perpetuated, only to become a festering wound on the face of the globe.

The alternative, to be championed by Western diplomacy, is the revival of land-lease, land-purchase agreements between sovereign governments. Consider that the Soviet government might be tempted to spin off the Southern Kuril Islands, fruits of another land grab in 1945, but for fear of losing face. These islands have no economic or strategic value to the Soviets, and have become a source of endless embarrassment in their dealings with the Japanese. The Soviet government needs an honest broker to help negotiate the sale of these islands to the Japanese government. The U.S. government should offer its good offices to consummate such a deal.

These would be delicate negotiations requiring a great deal of tact. The Soviet empire, shedding its ill-gotten gains, is trying to avoid the appearance of the sick man of the world, reminiscent of the Ottoman Empire, the sick man of Europe in the 19th century. In retrospect, the Ottoman Turks would have done better for themselves if they had offered their surplus real estate for sale, before it was too late.

Or consider the vast stretches of Siberia, mostly uninhabited, which are off-limits for settlement and economic development in the face of growing population pressure along its periphery. The Soviets do not have nor can they generate the capital needed for its development. Foreign capital will not do the work for them in the absence of a land-lease or land-purchase arrangement. How long can the Soviets keep the industrious people of Asia, looking for a place underneath the Sun, out of Siberia? Unless a formula is found whereby land once again is routinely leased or sold between sovereign states, there will be a war in Asia for Lebensraum in the next century. It is fortunate that this—possible nuclear—war will be fought on another continent where no American interests are at stake, and no American troops are deployed. But it is incumbent

on the American Government to do everything possible to prevent the conflict.

The simple truth is that the world cannot much longer support its growing population without the land resources sequestered over the centuries by a succession of Russian Tsars, some white and some red. As successful as the Russians have been in amassing land, they have been just as unsuccessful in utilizing it. According to one estimate the unutilized or poorly utilized land resources under Soviet control could, under proper management, feed at least twice the world's present population. Yet the Soviets have shown themselves utterly incompetent in developing their idle economic resources for the benefit of their own people, let alone the community of nations. How long can they afford to play the role of the dog in the manger?

The signs are all around us that the Soviet leadership is very much aware of this problem, but is at a loss to find the solution. American diplomacy could help them, and thus contribute to the cause of lasting peace. There is one solution which the Soviets cannot fail but find acceptable and satisfactory. As a starter, the American and the British governments should invite the Soviet Government to lease the Kamchatka Peninsula for 99 years to those residents of Hong Kong who do not wish to live under Communist rule after the British lease on Hong Kong expires. The Soviets would find it hard to decline this invitation. The new settlers would bring with them the type of skills and resources the Soviets need most. The people of Hong Kong have a proven track record of economic success. They present a military threat to no one. From the proceeds of the lease, the Soviets could finance the development of other parts of Siberia.

An important side effect may also be mentioned here. The lease of Kamchatka to former residents of Hong Kong would take the wind out of the sails of the Chinese Communists, who have designs of their own on Siberia. It is not secret that in the opinion of Chinese military planners, a nuclear conflict involving a hundred million casualties is an acceptable risk in the struggle for the control of Siberia. The northward trek of millions of hungry Chinese settlers is a matter of strategic timing. These military planners, however, would have to scurry back to their drawing boards once the Kamchatka precedent was established. The world would know that Siberia was open and newcomers were welcome on the basis of competitive bidding. War or the threat of war, in a bid for the control of Siberia, would no longer be justified or tolerated in the eyes of the world.

With the ice broken, Germany could also offer to buy back the formerly German territories now under Soviet or Polish jurisdiction. The Soviets could, of course, refuse the offer—but the onus would be on them to create in the former German provinces economic and political conditions which compare

favorably with those prevailing in other German lands. Honecker's ghost would be haunting the Soviets until they made good on Mr. Gorbachev's promise of a common European home extending all the way to the Urals.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

First, the Western governments should declare that the question and the timetable of German reunification is up to the German people, who should make the decision through an all-German referendum.

Second, the referendum should offer several alternatives, such as continued sovereignty for the two Germanys, a loose confederation, or a Federal Republic to be formed on the basis of a new constitution.

Third, in a separate referendum, the German people should decide whether they want their country to be part of a military alliance, or they prefer to live in a neutral state which, together with Austria, Switzerland, Sweden, and Finland could serve as a cordon sanitaire between the two existing military alliances in Europe.

Fourth, the Western governments should offer to conclude a peace treaty with Germany within 1 year after the referendum on reunification.

Fifth, the question of Germany's eastern borders must be left to Germany, Poland, and the Soviet Union to work out. If Germany wished to reserve the right to purchase the disputed territories from Poland and the Soviet Union, or to purchase former Polish territories from the Soviet Union and offer these to Poland in exchange for disputed territories presently under Polish jurisdiction, then this right must be respected.

Sixth, regardless of the outcome of these negotiations, the German Peace Treaty should go beyond condemning Germany for its aggression against Poland in 1939. It should also declare that the act of uprooting and expelling millions of innocent civilians from their ancestral lands by the Soviet Union after the cessation of hostilities in 1945 was a violation of basic human rights, and that such conduct could not be condoned by the community of civilized nations—any more than the act of armed aggression could.

Seventh, the United States should reexamine its policy of maintaining combat troops and nuclear weapons in Europe. The policy of perpetuating American garrisons on foreign soil is not compatible with the ideal of prosperity at home and peace abroad.

A strong, united, and free Germany will enable the United States to claim victory in the cold war, come home, and allow this generation of Americans to take to heart the admonition of their first President George Washington in warning them against foreign entanglements. With their mission overseas at long last completed, Americans want to devote their attention and resources on problems at home.

COMMON SENSE NEEDED IN UNDERSTANDING OF AGRICULTURAL CHEMICALS—WHAT THEY DO AND DON'T DO AND HOW BAD IT WOULD BE WITHOUT THEM

HON. BILL EMERSON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday March 5, 1990

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, Dr. Charles Knots of Cape Girardeau, MO, has spent a lifetime studying, understanding, formulating, applying, and teaching the practical effects and usages of pesticides, herbicides, rodenticides, fungicides, and other chemicals that are generally lumped in the category of agricultural chemicals.

He is a devoted husband, father, grandfather, uncle, friend to many, stranger to none, active churchman, solid citizen who has carried his share of the water for many progressive civic causes. He is a respected and trustworthy businessman and scientist. He believes in clean air, clean water, a healthy environment and, most notably, he doesn't want to poison anyone.

He has written a very enlightening article, "Before and After Pesticides," that appeared in the Southeast Missourian, the largest paper of daily circulation in southeast Missouri, as a guest column on February 22. Dr. Knots' common sense, lay-term discussion of pesticides is essential reading as this body undertakes the consideration of many important environmental issues, most particularly those in the agricultural arena. I am pleased to share Dr. Knots' thoughts with my colleagues:

BEFORE AND AFTER OF PESTICIDES

Before modern pesticides, Americans "knew" bed bugs intimately. These insects crawled out at night and sucked your blood while you slept. You got bit at home, or even at the good hotels. And you woke up with big welts that itched for days.

Yes, people welcomed the beginning of the pesticide revolution back in 1945. Why? Back then, hundreds of different kinds of pests caused health problems, and many pests cost Americans many dollars in damage individually every day.

Thousands of small brown German cockroaches added their droppings and sputum to people's foods in homes, restaurants and grocery stores. Now we know that these cockroaches carried salmonella—the same as chickens did and still do. Some homes were so full of these German roaches that you'd need to flip them off the kitchen table in the daytime before eating. Many people slept with them in their beds. They didn't want to, but the peoples of the U.S. and the world had no effective controls at a reasonable cost.

2,500 RATS

Before modern pesticides, hundreds of rats and mice easily destroyed and contaminated many individuals foods and property because there were no effective, palatable

controls. About 1979, Cape-Kil treated a 100,000-hen egg-laying farm for rats. Our initial treatment killed an estimated 2,500 big rats and hundreds of unborn rat pups. We examined three large female rats and found 8, 9, and 11 nearly mature embryos respectively. These estimated 2,500 rats ate 1,700 lbs. of multi-feeding palatable anti-coagulant baits before we had them totally controlled. Obviously, old-time rat traps were useless in this kind of a problem; only pesticides were effective.

Before pesticides, people in the southern U.S. lived with mosquitoes that carried malaria fever. Typhus fever and bubonic plague were problems for the western people of the U.S. because both were carried by the fleas on rats. Both of these problems are no longer feared in the U.S. because of pesticides.

TERMITES AND TOMATOES

I remember treating a home where the new owner replaced much of the floor joist, studding and wood sheathing damaged by termites. The owner spent about \$3,000 to rebuild the termite-damaged wood. This was back when a big, nice home cost only \$25,000. In the "good ole days" clothes moths and carpet beetles damaged or destroyed woolen carpets, woolen clothing and furs for many individual home owners, costing hundreds of dollars.

Back then, everyone "knew" wormy, rotten tomatoes, apples, peaches, and oranges, etc. They cut away or threw away these spoiled products. In 1951, I bought a ½ bushel of ripening tomatoes from a Cape Girardeau commercial gardener. In five days they were all rotten. This rot had traveled from one tomato to another, just like brown rot destroyed peaches in a basket. We threw these tomatoes and peaches into the garbage . . . complete wastes. Now safe effective fungicides control these rots.

FARM WEED PROBLEMS

Back then, many farmers were forced to grow corn and weeds as one crop in many fields . . . not intentionally . . . the rains just came and thousands of dormant weed seeds lying in the soil finally germinated.

JOHNSON GRASS AND FOXTAIL

Both the old root grass and the young seedling Johnson grass, absolutely "took" corn reducing the yields to a very unprofitable six bushels per acre in Southern Illinois. The giant foxtail, a tall grassy weed, was so thick you couldn't see the young corn plants in some fields in Scott and Mississippi Counties. The rains came, the dormant grass seed germinated and they had no controls until the late 1960s. Also, I have seen the crab grass so thick in cotton it is impossible to "chop" the weeds out of the cotton without "chopping" out the cotton plants. Crab grass reduced yields and increased farmer's costs.

AGRICULTURAL INSECTS CYCLE

Many years insects are not a problem on farm crops and no pesticides are used! But insects do attack, such as: (1) In 1954, north of Perryville, the grasshoppers were so thick, they ate portions of this farmer's wooden fence posts; also, they ate his corn and clover hay fields and those of his neighbors until controlled. (2) The chinch bugs, a very small sucking insect, moved from a wheat field to a corn field at Bell City and sucked many rows of young corn to death before they were controlled. (3) The Army worms came by the thousands in Cape, Scott, Mississippi, Stoddard, Perry, Bollinger, St. Genevieve Counties, crawled the

barley stalks, ate the leaves and cut off the heads and also damaged wheat leaves severely until they were controlled.

(4) The little green worms, from the alfalfa weevils, crawled up the stems of the alfalfa and ate the leaves off. Many alfalfa fields were stripped before controls came. (5) The cotton bollworms destroyed 35 percent of the young cotton bolls in hundreds of acres of cotton in the Missouri Bootheel before they were controlled. (6) Lice sucked the blood of beef cattle, dairy cattle, hogs, chickens, which reduced their productivity greatly. Weevils, bran bugs and grain moths destroy farm-stored wheat and corn and contaminate flour and cereal. Black cutworms caused farmers to replant corn, and I could go on and on about agricultural pests.

EXPERIENCE—A GREAT TEACHER

Why do I cite these local pest problems and their damage? We older folks forget what these pest problems were like, plus how much they cost . . . and the younger folks never have had these experiences to learn how costly and harmful these pests can be, because we've had effective, safe controls during their lifetimes.

Farm pesticides help keep the cost of American's food very low. We average spending only 18½ percent of our net income for food. People from other industrial countries in the world average spending 33 percent of their income for food. Some developing countries spend over 50 percent for food.

This past summer, I visited a large eastern U.S. city. While there, I "checked-out" the food stores because barbecuing and smoke-cooking are two of my hobbies. One supermarket sold "organically-grown" dressed frying chickens. They were white skinned, plump, fresh and good looking . . . until I spotted their price—\$3.49/pound and they weighed about 3½ pounds each. One chicken would cost me \$12.21.

In the next meat counter were the "standard-grown" white skinned, plump, fresh and good looking chickens priced at only \$1.09/pound or \$3.81 for 3½ pounds. I could buy nearly three "standard-grown" chickens for the same amount of money as one "organically-grown" chicken.

ORGANICALLY-GROWN

Were these "organically grown" chickens truly "organically grown?" You must ask yourself if the chicken grower could or even tried to trace every raw feed ingredient in his feed back to its "organically grown natural source"—the farmers' fields where each product was grown or raw material produced? Also you must ask yourself if "organically grown" chicken is truly any healthier to eat.

REASONABLY PRICED FOOD

American farmers cannot continue to grow adequate food at a reasonable price without many of the pesticides now used. America's health and property cannot be protected without the use of some pesticides. American consumers must not be dazzled and moonstruck by Hollywood's pseudo environmentalists and the national media's desire for sensationalism that they would permit the banning of all pesticides.

Americans cannot continue to afford these kinds of anti-pesticide hoaxes and stay healthy and well-fed. What can you do? Write your elected government official in

Washington and Jefferson City, and ask them not to be harassed into legislation that will unnecessarily increase America's cost of health protection and food costs. Also, ask them to have an impartial adviser who understands scientific data.

RATIONAL APPROACH NEEDED ON FOOD, CHEMICAL ISSUES

HON. BILL EMERSON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. EMERSON. Mr. Speaker, there is a significant debate under way in Congress, the national media, and among many concerned citizens about agricultural chemicals and certain food additives. As with all issues, this debate needs balance and I, for one, have been concerned that this debate has seen important facts and considerations sacrificed on the altar of sensationalism.

Mr. Peter Kinder, the associate publisher of the Southeast Missourian newspaper in my district, has written an editorial piece entitled "Hysteria on Food, Chemicals Blown Away by Good News" that gives some perspective on the subject that we have need of.

I am pleased to share this material with my colleagues and urge that it be a factor in our perspective of this important subject matter.

HYSTERIA ON FOOD, CHEMICALS BLOWN AWAY BY GOOD NEWS

"At the risk of seeming cavalier, we need to remember that every person dies, no matter how well-loved, meritorious, or rich."

Excerpted from a study entitled "How Safe is Safe Enough?—Setting Safety Goals", published by the Center for the Study of American Business at Washington University in St. Louis.

This has been a real bad week for the panic mongers. The news—very good news—is simply devastating to them. It seems fitting that a major announcement by leading scientists and government officials would arrive almost on the first anniversary of the launching of the phony Alar scare about apples on the CBS program "60 Minutes". The first anniversary of that grossly one-sided episode of the respected TV news magazine will be this weekend.

This week's announcement received major play in most news media, as well it should: "Big Cancer Risk Said To Be Normal Food, Not Additives" screamed the headlines in an edition of this week's St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Some excerpts from that article and from other wire service accounts follow.

"Natural cancer-causing agents in meat, grain and other foods are a far greater danger than pesticides and additives, a government scientist said Monday.

"Even a minor reduction in these naturally occurring hazards, he said, would surpass the benefits of eliminating all traces of dangerous, man-made chemicals.

"Speaking was Dr. Robert J. Scheuplein, Director of the Office of Toxicological Sciences at the Food and Drug Administration. He commented at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

"Dr. Scheuplein estimated that, over all, about 7.7 percent of the 500,000 annual cancer deaths in the United States are

linked to exposure to carcinogens (cancer-causing agents) found in food.

"Most of the cancer-causing dietary materials lies in 'traditional' food prepared in ordinary ways, not from additives, pesticide residues or fungal contamination that have worried many consumers, Scheuplein said.

"... The FDA official estimated traditional food accounts for 98.8 percent of the food-related cancer risk, spices make up about 0.98 percent, other additives 0.2 percent, pesticides 0.01 percent, animal drugs 0.01 percent, food preparation such as boiling or pickling 0.01 percent, and mushroom and other fungal toxins 0.0001 percent.

"Scheuplein contended that people were worried about the wrong risks in their diet, in part because of what he called the exaggerated news accounts of such scares as Alar in apples, cyanide in grapes and dioxin in milk. (Emphasis added.)

"... Even a modestly effective attempt to lessen the dietary risk of natural carcinogens would be enormously more useful to human health than regulatory efforts devoted to eliminating traces of pesticide residues or other specific trace-level chemicals," Scheuplein said.

"Dr. Frank Young, a former Food and Drug Administration commissioner who is now deputy assistant secretary of health and human services, agreed with Scheuplein.

"Dr. Young said he thinks the reason so much attention has focused on artificial contaminants such as Alar on apples is that often 'outrageous claims drive out less flamboyant concerns,' like whether high-fat diets increase the risk of ... cancer. (Emphasis added.)

"... 'The good news is, let us not as a nation focus just on the technological food additive,' Young said. 'We ought to focus on the big issues as well.'

"... Scheuplein said the FDA should change its research focus to concentrate on the total diet and move away from 'the notion that you can ban one or two substances and have an effect.'

"He said he is puzzled why many Americans seem to demand 100 percent safety from their food while they are willing to accept risks in other areas, such as riding in cars without wearing seatbelts or smoking.

"Consumers need to learn 'that most cancer risk from food preparation probably have to do with our own dietary choices,' such as reducing fat intake or increasing consumption of cabbage-like vegetables they eat, he said.

"That's a hard lesson for most people to learn. They want to blame someone else,' he said."

"This is a free country, where people may follow whatever fads they like. They can even take their toxicological advice and their hard science on chemicals from paid SpokesPersons Meryl Streep, Ed Asner and other such internationally renowned authorities that some cunning PR may trot out at the Chicken Little press conference of the week. If '60 Minutes' wants to corrupt its own standards and get taken in, I can't stop them.

The rest of us should go back to our mothers' advice on nutrition. Funny thing about Mom's advice, the wisdom of the ages. It keeps getting borne out by the careful untainted work of the real scientists in our midst.

A TRULY MARKET APPROACH TO CONTROLLING ACID RAIN

HON. FORTNEY PETE STARK

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. STARK. Mr. Speaker, we must curb acid rain. It is destroying our lakes, seriously affecting human health, significantly damaging forests, and even melting the monuments at Gettysburg battlefield.

In the current debate over the Clean Air Act, there is considerable discussion over how to implement a complex package of regulations to control acid rain emissions. President Bush has proposed a pollution allowance scheme. It is a cumbersome and inefficient way of controlling pollution. In fact, it creates a whole new market for middlemen to broker these pollution allowances.

Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation today with my colleague, Mr. DOWNEY, which would impose an excise tax on the emissions that cause acid rain. This legislation simplifies President Bush's regulatory proposal into an excise tax.

We can advance two important goals with this bill. We can solve significant pollution problems by making it in the economic interest of utilities to reduce pollution. Second, we can use the money to help meet our deficit reduction goals.

The excise tax is very simple to implement. For every ton of sulfur dioxide or nitrogen oxide emitted over a floor amount, a tax would be paid. If you pollute you pay, with escalating penalties for polluting.

The intent of the tax is to change behavior not to allow people to pay to pollute. This is the opposite of what happens with the pollution allowances. Once someone purchases the right to pollute, they are going to want to get their money's worth.

Mr. Speaker, this legislation will add an important dimension to the debate over the Clean Air Act. I believe this legislation can meet the environmental goals put forward by the President and the environmental community. The bill can achieve those goals with true market forces and a minimum of Government intrusion.

Following is the text of the bill:

H.R. —

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That (a) chapter 38 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1986 (relating to environmental taxes) is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subchapter:

"SUBCHAPTER E—TAX ON CERTAIN EMISSIONS OF ELECTRIC UTILITY GENERATING UNITS

"Sec. 4691. Imposition of tax.

"Sec. 4692. Taxable emissions defined.

"Sec. 4693. Definitions and special rules.

"SEC. 4691. IMPOSITION OF TAX.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—There is hereby imposed a tax at the rate determined under subsection (b) on taxable emissions from an electric utility generating unit.

"(b) RATE OF TAX.—For purposes of this section—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—

"In the case of taxable emissions during calendar year;	To the extent the emissions consist of sulfur dioxide, the tax per pound is:	To the extent the emissions consist of nitrogen oxide, the tax per pound is:
1991.....	15 cents.....	10 cents.....
1992.....	20 cents.....	13 cents.....
1993.....	25 cents.....	17 cents.....
1994.....	30 cents.....	20 cents.....
1995.....	35 cents.....	23 cents.....
1996.....	40 cents.....	27 cents.....
1997 or thereafter.....	45 cents.....	30 cents.....

"(2) INFLATION ADJUSTMENTS FOR YEARS AFTER 1997.—

"(A) IN GENERAL.—In the case of taxable emissions during any calendar quarter beginning after 1997, the tax per pound shall be an amount equal to the product of—

"(i) the applicable rate specified in paragraph (1) without regard to this paragraph, multiplied by

"(ii) the inflation adjustment for such calendar quarter.

The amount determined under the preceding sentence shall be rounded to the nearest cent.

"(B) INFLATION ADJUSTMENT.—For purposes of subparagraph (A), the inflation adjustment for any calendar quarter is the percentage by which—

"(i) the implicit price deflator for the gross national product for the second preceding calendar quarter, exceeds

"(ii) such deflator for the calendar quarter ending June 30, 1997.

"(C) FIRST REVISION USED.—For purposes of subparagraph (A)(i), the first revision of the price deflator shall be used. For purposes of subparagraph (A)(ii), the revision which is most consistent with the revision used for purposes of subparagraph (A)(i) shall be used.

"(c) LIABILITY FOR TAX.—The tax imposed by subsection (a) shall be paid by the operator of the electric utility generating unit.

"SEC. 4692. TAXABLE EMISSIONS DEFINED.

"(a) GENERAL RULE.—For purposes of this subchapter, the term 'taxable emissions' means—

"(1) emissions into the atmosphere of sulfur dioxide during any calendar quarter from any electric utility generating unit to the extent that the total amount of such emissions exceed the exemption level for sulfur dioxide, and

"(2) emissions into the atmosphere of nitrogen oxide during any calendar quarter from any electric utility generating unit to the extent that the total amount of such emissions exceed the exemption level for nitrogen oxide.

"(b) EXEMPTION LEVEL.—For purposes of subsection (a)—

"(1) IN GENERAL.—Except as provided in paragraph (2)—

"In the case of any calendar quarter	The exemption level for sulfur dioxide is the following amount per million Btu's of fuel burned in the unit:	The exemption level for nitrogen oxide is the following amount per million Btu's of fuel burned in the unit:
After 1990 and before 1996.....	1.2 pounds.....	0.7 pounds.....
After 1995 and before 1998.....	1.0 pounds.....	0.6 pounds.....
After 1997 and before 2000.....	0.8 pounds.....	0.5 pounds.....
After 1999.....	0.6 pounds.....	0.4 pounds.....

"(2) EXEMPTION LEVELS FOR NEW FACILITIES.—In the case of any electric utility generating unit the original use of which began after the date of the enactment of this subchapter—

"(A) the exemption level for sulfur dioxide is 0.25 pounds per million Btu's of fuel burned in the unit, and

"(B) the exemption level for nitrogen oxide is 0.2 pounds per million Btu's of fuel burned in the unit.

"SEC. 4693. DEFINITIONS AND SPECIAL RULES.

"(a) **EXEMPTION FOR SMALL UNITS.**—No tax shall be imposed by section 4691 on taxable emissions from any electric utility generating unit if—

"(1) the rated capacity of such unit is less than 75 megawatts, and

"(2) such unit is not operated by a person whose units have a total rated capacity of more than 150 megawatts.

For purposes of paragraph (2), rules similar to the rules of subsections (a) and (b) of section 52 shall apply.

"(b) MEASUREMENT OF EMISSIONS.—

"(1) **IN GENERAL.**—Except as provided in paragraph (2), the amount of emissions shall be determined through the use of continuous emission monitoring devices meeting such performance and quality standards as the Secretary (after consultation with the Administrator of the Environmental Protection Agency) shall prescribe.

"(2) **SPECIAL RULE FOR PERIODS BEFORE 1993.**—The operator of any electric utility generating unit may elect to determine the amount of emissions from such unit during any period before January 1, 1993—

"(A) on the basis of the fuel consumption, characteristics of the fuel, and emissions rate of the unit, and

"(B) in accordance with procedures prescribed by the Secretary.

"(c) **ELECTRIC UTILITY GENERATING UNIT.**—For purposes of this chapter—

"(1) **IN GENERAL.**—The term 'electric utility generating unit' means any electric generating unit located in the United States if more than one-third of the electricity produced at such unit is provided to a utility power distribution system for sale.

"(2) **ELECTRIC GENERATING UNIT.**—The term 'electric generating unit' means any furnace, boiler, turbine, or other device used for purposes of burning fuel to produce electricity."

(b) The table of subchapters for chapter 38 of such Code is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new item:

"SUBCHAPTER E. TAX ON CERTAIN EMISSIONS OF ELECTRIC UTILITY GENERATING UNITS"

(c) The amendments made by this section shall take effect on January 1, 1991.

IN MEMORY OF JACK LEWIS

HON. JOSEPH M. McDADE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. McDADE. Mr. Speaker, on February 9, 1990, I was saddened to learn of the unexpected death of veteran Scrantonian Tribune editor and columnist and my friend of many years, Jack Lewis.

A native of Scranton, PA, Jack graduated from local schools before joining the U.S. Marine Corps and rose to the rank of sergeant during World War II. Upon his discharge, he joined the Scrantonian Tribune and rapidly moved up the ladder to become a correspondent, a staff reporter, copy editor, and Sunday editor.

He was a member and a past officer of the Newspaper Guild and a member of the Holy Cross Athletic Association, Fifth Marine Division Association, and Sloan Booster Association.

A fine athlete, Jack enjoyed tennis as a member of the Scranton Tennis Club and racquetball as a member of the Greater Scranton YMCA. He was active in both sports until earlier this year. He also coached Little League baseball teams.

Our thoughts go out to his wife, the former Dale Thomas; three sons, Jack, an attaché of the State attorney general's office; Jeff, an educator who resides in Washington, DC and Glenn, of Atlanta, GA, a Marriott Hotel executive; a daughter, Mrs. Pamela Kane of Dunmore; a sister, Mrs. Jean Dowse of Scranton; five grandchildren; and several nieces and nephews.

HOLY FAMILY'S ROSANNE DILLON: 1990 PEACE AND JUSTICE AWARD WINNER

HON. ROMANO L. MAZZOLI

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. MAZZOLI. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to share the news with all of my colleagues of the grand distinction to be bestowed on Rosanne Dillon, principal of Holy Family Elementary School in Louisville, KY. Miss Dillon is to receive the 1990 Peace and Justice Award of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Louisville.

This award is in recognition of Rosanne Dillon's lifetime of devotion and service to furthering the principles of peace and justice in the Louisville community. Throughout her long and enriching career at Holy Family School, Rosanne has instilled these principles in the nearly three generations on boys and girls whom she has taught and administered.

A classroom teacher for 15 years before becoming Holy Family Principal in 1970, Rosanne's own life has been guided by her dedication to peace and justice. She has been a very active volunteer in numerous civic, charitable and educational organizations in Louisville and Jefferson County, and she has encouraged similar outreach efforts from her students.

In her profession as an educator, she has adapted many innovative approaches to curriculum development that continue to thrive at Holy Family. She has been a bridge builder, involving parents, teachers, and students together in the task of setting goals—both for the individual student's success and the school's.

Rosanne has successfully worked to help create an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect where young students on the threshold of adulthood can excel and be assured of the kind of education and values they will need to confront real world problems. She has sown the bountiful seeds of peace and justice through each and every young student whose life she has touched.

It is undoubtedly one of the most important tasks anyone could undertake, that of teach-

ing our children. Rosanne Dillon is one individual who has and continues to give full measure of herself, her wisdom, her talents, and energies to her school and community.

If I appear to be extremely enthusiastic and complimentary about Rosanne Dillon and appear to be her unabashed fan and devotee, then I plead guilty. I am all of these, Mr. Speaker.

For in addition to all my other reasons for applauding her work and her personal traits, Mr. Speaker, Rosie is my sister-in-law.

I married her sister, Helen, over 30 years ago, and I have seen Rosie "up close and personal," as they say, for all these years. I can testify unequivocally that Rosanne is both a thoroughgoing and extraordinarily conscientious educator and administrator as well as a thoroughly wonderful, thoughtful, decent and warm human being.

I am proud to spread the good news of Rosanne Dillon in the RECORD for my colleagues and for the Nation. At this moment in our history, we are desperately in need of good educators who are also good people devoted to the achievement of peace and justice in the world.

One such educator and peacemaker is Rosanne Dillon. I am proud to be her brother-in-law as well as her Representative in Congress.

TRIBUTE TO ADRIAN M. FOLEY, JR., AND BERNARD M. SHANLEY

HON. DONALD M. PAYNE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like to ask my colleagues here in the House of Representatives to join me in offering congratulations to two outstanding men from New Jersey: Adrian M. Foley, Jr., and Bernard M. Shanley.

On February 22, 1990, these two distinguished alumni of St. Benedict's Preparatory School of Newark became that institution's first recipients of the Medal of St. Benedict. The two men were honored by St. Benedict's at a dinner in West Orange, NJ. Over 500 people, including many former and current top elected officials, gathered to pay tribute to these two prominent attorneys.

Shanley is a senior partner in the law firm of Shanley & Fisher in Morristown and Newark. Foley is a senior partner in the law firm of Connell, Foley & Geiser in Roseland and Newark.

Both men were recognized for their contributions to their community throughout their distinguished professional and public careers. St. Benedict's honored Shanley and Foley for their dedicated commitment to the ideals of St. Benedict's exemplified by their service, generosity, and integrity. Although the demographics of the school have changed, St. Benedict's remains in Newark to continue its legacy of quality education. Mr. Foley and Mr. Shanley have both supported the excellent work of this institution.

St. Benedict's Preparatory School has been operated since 1868 by the Benedictine

Monks of Newark Abbey to provide college prep education to youths from the Newark area.

Mr. Speaker, I know my colleagues join me in congratulating these outstanding community leaders and in wishing them all the best in the future.

BUDGET DEFICIT CONCERN

HON. CARROLL HUBBARD, JR.

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. HUBBARD. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received dozens of letters and telephone calls expressing increased concern over the Federal budget deficit.

At this time, I would like to share with my colleagues a recent letter from my friend and constituent Hatler E. Morgan of Benton, Kentucky. In his letter Mr. Morgan, for many years the president and chairman of the board at Bank of Marshall County (Benton, KY), expresses his deep concern over the serious financial condition of this country. He suggests that all members of Congress read Gunther's *Inside Europe* and recall what happened to Germany in 1923.

I urge my colleagues to read the letter from Hatler E. Morgan. The letter follows in its entirety:

MORGAN, TREVATHAN & GUNN, INC.,
Benton, KY, February 14, 1990.

Congressman CARROLL HUBBARD,
Paducah, KY.

DEAR CARROLL: I know that you have been conservative in your approach to governmental affairs but I want to urge you again to make every effort to balance the federal budget. I do not believe that the members of Congress as a whole realize the seriousness of the financial condition of this country and that the time is rapidly approaching when the federal government may not be able to meet its financial obligations. It would be well if they could all read what happened to Germany in 1923. I recall that period and have reread Gunther's *"Inside Europe"* in recent years and would suggest that you do that also. Be assured of my regards and well wishes.

Very truly yours,

HATLER E. MORGAN.

STEINFORT SHOWS COMMUNITY SPIRIT DURING CRISIS

HON. RON de LUGO

OF THE VIRGIN ISLANDS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. DE LUGO. Mr. Speaker, when disaster strikes, there are always some individuals who respond with the very best in community spirit and concern for their neighbors.

Deirdre Steinfort, a young woman from St. Croix, is one such individual who showed her concern and abilities after Hurricane Hugo left its trail of destruction in the U.S. Virgin Islands. Deirdre, who is just finishing high school at Good Hope School on St. Croix this year, showed maturity beyond her years by assuming a pivotal role in the recovery of St. Croix.

Three days after the storm, Deirdre volunteered with the Red Cross and worked on a damage assessment team that worked long hours traveling around the island to gather information on the extent of the destruction. Her talents were quickly recognized and, in a few days, she was made damage assessment coordinator at the Red Cross headquarters at Beacon Hill.

Deirdre is a shining example of the many people on St. Croix and the Virgin Islands, especially our young people, who provided tremendous service to our community after Hurricane Hugo. There is no minimum age for developing community spirit and it is not taught in the classroom. It takes a big heart and cool head, a willingness to step into the fray and provide help when people are in desperate need. Deirdre showed that she has these impressive qualities.

I want to express my personal appreciation to her. The Red Cross also showed its appreciation in a letter on her behalf, and I want to place that letter in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD for everyone to see the outstanding service provided by this young woman.

AMERICAN RED CROSS,

October 6, 1989.

To Whom It May Concern:

I would like to take this opportunity to express my personal thanks to Deirdre Steinfort for her invaluable support of the damage assessment function during the Hurricane Hugo disaster relief operations here on the island of St. Croix. She has contributed significantly to the successful completion of a most difficult job under very trying conditions.

While my direct supervision of her activities extended over only a portion of the time she contributed to the Red Cross it has been obvious to me from her intelligent observations and easy rapport with members of the local staff that she has been a most effective volunteer worker in this extreme disaster.

On behalf of the American Red Cross, and personally, thanks for a job well done. I wish her luck in the future and I hope her island home recovers quickly.

Damage Assessment Officer, U.S.V.I.

SALUTE TO RETIRING HAWTHORNE, NJ, POLICE CHIEF VINCENT J. MANGIAFICO

HON. ROBERT A. ROE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. ROE. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride and admiration that I rise today to salute a truly outstanding man and a dedicated public servant who, for the past 37 years has devoted his life to protecting the people of his community of Hawthorne, NJ.

I am speaking of Hawthorne Police Chief Vincent J. Mangiafico who has served with the utmost distinction during nearly four decades and who is retiring from the Hawthorne Police Department. For all that he has done for his

community, Chief Mangiafico will be honored with a dinner on March 10, 1990, at Macaluso's in Hawthorne.

I know this event will be a source of great pride, not only to Chief Mangiafico, but to his devoted family; his children, Jaime Lynne Detrick, Susan Vertolomo, and Paul Mangiafico, and his three grandchildren, as well as his many friends, colleagues, and the distinguished government officials I know will be a part of this great celebration.

Mr. Speaker, Vincent J. Mangiafico was born on August 26, 1926, in Seward, PA, to Paul and Josephine Mangiafico. He grew up in the Riverside section of Paterson, NJ, and attended local schools, graduating from school No. 10 and from Eastside High School. At Eastside he excelled in athletics, earning awards in football, basketball, and track. While attending high school Vince also worked as a life guard at the Preakness Pool and held the position of chief life guard.

He fought for his country during World War II, serving in the Navy and in Volunteer Armed Guard gun crews. Following his military service, Vincent J. Mangiafico was appointed to the Hawthorne Police Department in 1953 by Mayor Louis Bay II. Through his dedication and outstanding work, Vince worked his way up the ranks and was promoted to sergeant on September 29, 1962.

Two years later he was promoted to lieutenant, a position he held for 8 years filled with admirable achievement. On September 1, 1972, Vincent J. Mangiafico was made captain and, 4 years later he was promoted to chief of the Hawthorne Police Department, a position he has held with great distinction since that time.

Along with his great service to Hawthorne through his outstanding career with the police department, Chief Mangiafico has also served his community in numerous other ways. Among his most noteworthy achievements was his initiative that led to the construction of a new Boys Club in Hawthorne, which is now known as the Hawthorne Boys and Girls Club, of which he serves as president.

In addition, he is a member of the PBA Local 200, the Passaic County Chiefs Association, the International Police Chiefs Association, the International Identification Officers Association, the New Jersey Narcotics Officers Association, the AAA Traffic Safety Committee, the Disabled Veterans of America and American Legion Post 199 of Hawthorne.

Chief Mangiafico, for his countless contributions to his community, has received numerous citations from the mayor, civic groups, and private citizens who have appreciated his selfless efforts through the years.

Mr. Speaker, I appreciate this opportunity to present a brief profile of an outstanding public servant and a great community leader who has spent his life making his town, his State and our Nation a better place to live, Vincent J. Mangiafico, chief of the Hawthorne, NJ, Police Department.

A 25TH ANNIVERSARY SALUTE TO BHRAGS INC.

HON. MAJOR R. OWENS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. OWENS of New York. Mr. Speaker, I rise to pay tribute to the Brooklyn Haitian Ralph And Good Shepherd, Inc., a community based organization located in the Brownsville section of my congressional district, which is celebrating its 25th anniversary.

BHRAGS' slogan is "Committed To Service," and in its 25-year existence it has indeed provided valuable services to the community. Its Homemaker Home Health Aide Training Program offers an opportunity for women in the community to be trained to provide vitally needed services to the homebound and disabled as homemaker home health aides. The 120-hour program along with its 24-hour internship extends over a 3-month period and is unique in that it reaches far beyond the requirements for New York State certification.

Its Good Shepherd employment agency serves clientele ranging in age from 9 months to 101 years. Under contract with the Visiting Nurse Association, the Metropolitan Jewish Geriatric Center, the Nursing Sisters Visiting Home Service, St. Mary's Hospital, the Brookdale Medical Center, and Maimonides Hospital, it has placed some 200 certified aides. The BHRAGS Home Care Program combines nursing assistance with several of the standard housekeeping services. Begun in 1981, the program is currently accommodating the needs of over 600 clients and employing some 700 certified home attendants.

The BHRAGS Housekeeping Vendor Program provides housekeeping services to 800 Medicaid-eligible clients in Brooklyn, including the elderly and infirm, and families facing physical and psychological problems. During a 12-month period, over 300 women are trained in domestic and culinary skills.

BHRAGS provides a 40-hour training regimen under its City-Wide Home Attendant Training Program.

The organization is presently training home attendants for New York City. It conducts rapid assessment and provides six module training. The program component trains an average of 1,000 referrals per month.

BHRAGS' Senior Citizens' Program provides standard home attendant services along with escort services, telephone reassurance, health screening, referrals to other service providers, advocacy through assistance in obtaining entitlements, recreational activities and general social services/outreach. Working together with Meals on Wheels, BHRAGS' Senior Citizens' Program is servicing approximately 50 homebound clients.

BHRAGS operates four senior citizens centers: Grant Square Senior Center, Thompson Park Senior Center, Boulevard Senior Center, and Tete Ensemble. All of the centers provide a full complement of activities which include health screening and followup recreational and cultural activities, education, arts and crafts, nutrition and food services, counseling, information, and referral services. The program also provides meals for some 1,000

EXTENSIONS OF REMARKS

people, plus accommodations for about 30 blind clients who come to the centers.

In 1968 BHRAGS established its Haitian center as a result of a critical need for comprehensive services for refugees. Due to years of oppression in Haiti by the Duvalier family dictatorships and by subsequent military regimes following Jean-Claude Duvalier's ouster in 1986, my congressional district has the largest Haitian population in the United States. BHRAGS developed a variety of services under its Haitian center to provide assistance to Haitians, such as instructing them on immigration law and the legalization process; advocacy for public assistance; a literacy program to provide basic education; and information on Social Security and referral for health and other entitlement programs. The Haitian center also has a program designed to assist temporary residents and special agricultural workers in becoming permanent residents.

The Haitian center's intergenerational program offers students well-structured prework experience at local senior citizens programs as an incentive to remain in school and graduate, and to help obtain unsubsidized jobs in the future. All of the students in the program receive a stipend.

Sadly, in recent years, the 1,400 BHRAGS staff has had to carry out its good works in exceedingly dangerous streets in the Brownsville community. A surgeon on the BHRAGS board of directors was shot at 4 p.m. last month in broad daylight—the victim of crack-related crime. He survived, but the BHRAGS staffers should not have to literally place their lives in their hands when they walk the streets of Brownsville and go into community housing projects to care for the elderly.

BHRAGS is to be commended for its invaluable service to the Brownsville community. Numerous Brownsville elderly, infirm, young people, and Haitian refugees have been immeasurably helped by BHRAGS' home health aides, housekeepers and attendants, its immigration and legalization law counselors, and its job training and education programs. BHRAGS is a prime example of how a community-based group can encourage pride, self-help and empowerment through education, job training, and mutual assistance. I am proud to have BHRAGS in my congressional district, and I am heartened over its having continued its work for 25 years despite the recent dangers to it posed by drug-related violence in Brownsville. I congratulate BHRAGS on its silver anniversary and wish it many more years of service.

STATE OF THE ECONOMY AND ECONOMIC POLICY

HON. LEE H. HAMILTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. HAMILTON. Mr. Speaker, on Thursday, March 1, I testified, in my capacity as chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, before the House Budget Committee on the fiscal 1991 budget. My statement follows:

March 5, 1990

STATEMENT OF LEE H. HAMILTON

I am pleased to appear before the House Budget Committee today to present my views, as Chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, on the current state of the economy and on economic policy.

I. THE OUTLOOK

The economy in 1989

During 1989, the U.S. economy grew more slowly than in 1987 and 1988. In the fourth quarter, real GNP expanded at less than a one percent annual rate. The weakness primarily reflected a few particular sectors, however, and factors such as the East Coast hurricane and West Coast earthquake. The current quarter's growth will be difficult to interpret as well; while new car output is slow, unusually favorable weather has boosted construction.

The short-term outlook

Probability of recession. Overall, the probability of recession in 1990 is no higher than 35 percent, and probably less, according to the panel of forecasters who appeared before the Joint Economic Committee. Chairman Greenspan indicated in his JEC testimony that he believes the probability of recession has declined since last summer, but that the situation will bear careful watching.

Growth. Despite the recent softness, the economy is nearer to full employment of its labor and other resources than it has been in a number of years. The unemployment rate has remained at 5.3 percent for almost one year, which many economists would characterize as full employment; and job creation in the past year ran well below the pace of the previous five years. For this reason, our witnesses expect the economy to grow even more slowly than last year. Chairman Greenspan noted in his JEC testimony that the economy has "stocked up" with automobiles, housing for middle- and upper-income homeowners, commercial buildings, and for the time being, computers. Other witnesses find the consumer a little more cautious. Meanwhile, international pressures have raised interest rates and constrained construction, business equipment investment, and exports.

The average of the forecasts of our private sector witnesses for GNP growth in 1990 was slightly less than 2 percent; the Blue Chip Consensus forecast is 1.8 percent. The Federal Open Market Committee's central tendency forecast is 1.75 to 2.0 percent real GNP growth over the four quarters of this year. Thus, the FOMC and virtually all private forecasters expect less growth in 1990 than the 2.6 percent forecast by the Administration.

Inflation and interest rates. The rest of the Administration's forecast is also optimistic, particularly on inflation, interest rates, and corporate profits. Those private sector forecasters who expect strong growth this year also expect higher inflation than the Administration, and upward pressure on interest rates. The prediction of simultaneous rapid growth and declines of inflation and interest rates sets the Administration's forecast off from the pack of private forecasters.

Profits. Meanwhile, corporate profits have been weak, as shown by the decline in corporate profits tax receipts from a year ago. Continued weak profits will reduce tax revenues and constrain business investment. The Administration forecasts a strong rebound in profits that will require faster growth, lower interest rates and declining

labor costs, none of which seems likely at present.

Summary. The economy is likely to avoid recession. However, growth will be slower than in recent years, because we are at or near full employment; and inflation, interest rates, and corporate profits will all be less favorable than the Administration forecasts.

Recommendation. If estimates of first quarter GNP show growth below one percent, the Congress and the Administration will have the option of suspending deficit reduction under Gramm-Rudman for one year. Because growth is likely to resume, however, I do not recommend suspending deficit reduction targets—pending further developments on the economic outlook. Stability in financial markets and longer-term domestic savings and investment will be best served by steady and credible deficit reduction, while monetary policy will be the best tool to assure short-term expansion.

The long-term outlook

Growth. Of even greater importance is the longer-term growth potential of the economy; after all, we are budgeting for 1991, and should be planning well beyond that. For 1991, the Administration's forecast is exceptionally optimistic, with much faster expansion than private forecasters—3.3 percent compared with the 2.4 percent Blue Chip estimate. The Administration's projected growth rate would require nonfarm business productivity growth of more than twice last year's estimated 0.9 percent.

Interest rates. We were told by our witnesses that the fundamentals do not favor the downtrend in real interest rates that is projected by the Administration. If growth is as rapid as the Administration forecasts, credit demand will be strong. And with unemployment fairly low, industrial capacity fully utilized, and inflation a concern, the Federal Reserve is unlikely to ease monetary policy. Meanwhile, the credit demands of our major trading partners are expected to remain robust; and central banks of key developed nations, which have been raising rates, will remain concerned with inflation. Finally, credit needs of Eastern Europe and developing countries are likely to grow.

Higher interest rates bias business investment decisions, impose costs on sensitive sectors, and skew the income distribution toward those who already have substantial wealth. So the interest rate forecast is of considerable importance for the economy at large. It is crucial for the budget, in view of the \$2.3 trillion of debt held by the public, on which debt service must be paid.

I believe that U.S. budgetary policy can make a significant contribution to lowering real interest rates; but this will require much more than the deficit reduction proposed in the President's Budget.

Before turning to more detailed comments on budget policy, let me set the issues in a broader perspective.

II. ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

In many respects the economy has performed well—with a prolonged expansion, low unemployment, and moderate inflation. It may be difficult to persuade ourselves, and the public, that we must make the tough choices to address the budget problem. We need to understand that the budget deficit is a source of important weaknesses in our economy.

Savings. We need more saving to finance investment to make us competitive in world markets and to provide the standard of living we want for ourselves and our chil-

dren. National savings has fallen from an average of 17 percent of GNP in the 1960s and 1970s to 14 percent last year.

The major single source of the decline in domestic saving was the extraordinary federal budget deficit. Including the growing saving in the Social Security trust fund, the budget deficit syphoned off more than twice as much savings relative to our GNP last year than the average of the 1960-79 period.

Investment. The budget deficit has distorted our use of the savings pool. It has kept interest rates high, and thereby biased business decisions toward the short term. With business investment concentrated on short-lived assets that wear out or become obsolete quickly, we have needed to invest more just for replacement, and investment over and above what is needed for replacement has declined as a percentage of GNP. The deficit has also driven the dollar higher, made U.S. products less competitive, and discouraged investment in manufacturing.

The budget deficit has also restrained public investment. Last summer, 327 economists, including 6 Nobel Prize winners, presented a letter to the JEC which stated: "In addition to our trade and fiscal deficits, America faces a 'third deficit'—the deficiency of public investment in our people and our economic infrastructure. This deficit will have a crippling effect on America's future competitiveness."

Although economists may disagree about the precise cause of the slowing of productivity growth since the late 1960s and early 1970s, they do agree that productivity increases when we raise our investment, to equip our workers with more and better factories, machines, technology, and public infrastructure. And they do agree that the key to raising our standard of living and our children's is raising productivity.

Dependence. The deficit and its drain on domestic saving has made us dependent on foreign capital to finance our domestic investment. Private investment during the 1980s was largely financed by unprecedented inflows of capital from abroad; our economy is building on a foundation of borrowed money. These capital inflows have accumulated to an international debt projected to reach \$2 trillion by the end of the century. This debt gives our foreign creditors a large influence over our exchange rates and interest rates. A decline in their confidence could raise interest rates and choke domestic investment.

World leadership. Twenty-five years ago, our position of leadership was secured by defense capabilities and sheer economic size. Today, we are unquestionably still the world leader. But there are signs that our position has begun to erode because our fiscal house is not in order. We cannot be the leader in setting the rules for the international economy when other nations are our creditors, and can point to our fiscal profligacy—with the support of international organizations like the International Monetary Fund and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. Most recently, Japan has defended its trade barriers on the ground that our trade deficit is caused by our large budget deficit. Meanwhile, we cannot find the resources to aid Romania and other East Bloc economies to make a smooth transition to a free market system. Wide fluctuations in the dollar illustrate our weakened international role. We must recognize the close relationship between our domestic policies and our position in the world.

Fairness. Economic mobility—where anyone willing to work hard could achieve a

decent and rising standard of living—is much less evident for the average working American today. Wages have stagnated throughout the 1980s; family incomes have grown modestly only because more family members have worked more hours. Income inequality has now reached its highest level since we began collecting such statistics in 1947—a sharp reversal of the historic trend toward more equality during expansions. And the tax system has become less fair, with the tax burden on the lowest-income families increasing, and that on the highest-income families decreasing—in large part because of our growing reliance on payroll taxes.

The deficit has hindered our ability to tackle this problem. We must make room in the budget for effectively targeted human investment and a more humanitarian policy toward our least advantage, while also achieving the deficit reduction that will reduce real interest rates and encourage private investment, rising productivity, and wage growth.

III. THE ADMINISTRATION'S BUDGET

The Budget and the Annual Report of the Council of Economic Advisers lay out some commendable economic analysis. I point especially to the highlighting of the scarcity of domestic saving; the sharp decline of net investment; the roles of public infrastructure and R&D; the environmental challenge; the need for more effective education and training; and the importance of stable and credible fiscal policy.

But the President's policies do not follow through; they merely tinker around the edges of the problems.

Let me identify seven sources of inaccuracy and imprudence in the President's approach—what I would call "The Seven Deadly Sins of Budgeting."

1. **Smoke—optimistic economic assumptions.** I have already noted that the budget is deficient from its beginning: Its economic and technical assumptions are not prudent. They start the process on the wrong foot, distorting everything that follows.

The Reagan and Bush Administration's forecasting records are sometimes misunderstood. Their optimistic economic assumptions for current years have sometimes proven accurate; but the Administration's short-term optimism has been fulfilled by employment growth, rather than productivity growth, and with the economy now near full employment, that windfall has ended. Further, despite their accuracy in predicting economic growth, the Administration's other economic and technical assumptions have been unfailingly optimistic, and so their deficit forecasts have been consistently too low.

Even worse, their long-term forecasts invariably call for rapid real growth and falling interest rates, with the tantalizing result that the deficit melts away just over the horizon. If so, why not glide by this year, and let the problem solve itself later?

Of course, the Congress could use a more prudent forecast; but we always accept the Administration's assumptions, so that we can reach the deficit target with less pain. In our own defense, however, it is politically perilous to be the bearer of the bad news that the Administration so publicly denies.

Also often misunderstood is the administration's claim that its forecast is not optimistic because it assumes adoption of their program, which will improve the economy. However, the program offers very little deficit reduction; and the forecast is extraordi-

narly buoyant. In other words, the Administration justifies a modest program by assuming a vigorous economy, and explains the vigor of the economy with its modest program. You need either a chicken or an egg to get the process rolling; the Administration has neither.

We do not need pessimistic economic and technical assumptions, merely realistic and prudent ones—of the character that any successful business would choose. We may fool ourselves by projecting, and accepting, unrealistically low future deficits, and then declaring victory—but in the end, we harm the country.

There are other failings in the Budget:

2. Mirrors—deficit reductions that appear bigger in the fun house mirrors than in technicians' cold calculations. The mirrors in the Budget include "management reforms" in defense.

3. Pennywise and pound foolish—policies whose ill effects outweigh the budget savings. Among the pennywise and pound foolish policies is the failure to provide the resources obviously needed for infrastructure investment, and for the indebted developing nations and Eastern Europe.

4. Pass the buck—policies that shift the burden to other levels of government. The Federal Government passes the buck to States and localities with mandated cost savings under Medicaid, and reductions such as those in grants for sewage treatment plants and for public housing modernization.

5. Cut now, pay later—policies that seem to reduce the deficit now but make it worse in future years. A major example is the capital gains tax cut proposal; the Joint Committee on Taxation estimates that this proposal would result in revenue losses in every year after the first.

6. Shell games—policies that claim to save money by moving activity from one shell to another. Eliminating indirect subsidies to the Postal Service would cut on-budget outlays but raise off-budget outlays in an equal amount.

7. "Nonstarters"—proposals that have been submitted before and failed to achieve political support. There are many proposals in the current Budget that have been proposed time and again, without achieving passage. Some of them may be good ideas, from my own perspective or that of a detached budget analyst; but their chance of passage is nil. Nonstarters in the Budget include Social Security payroll taxation of certain State and local government employees, elimination of Amtrak subsidies, and more fees related to recreational use of public park land.

Together, practices of these Seven Deadly Sins of Budgeting discredit the President's Budget document. As the Washington Post puts it, "The fooling around with numbers that used to be cosmetic has become fundamental. To those who produce as well as to those who read them, the numbers have become objects of contempt."

I believe that only \$10 billion of the President's \$36 billion of spending reduction and revenue increases for FY91 are likely to offer credible and lasting deficit reduction.

The revenue proposals in the Budget illustrate this weakness. Under the Administration's own estimates, the FY91 net revenue gain of \$13.9 billion falls to \$4.1 billion by FY93. However, if we substitute the Joint Committee on Taxation's estimate for the revenue effect of the capital gains tax cut, and assume that revenue raising retrofits will be rejected again, the FY91 revenue

gain is only \$6.9 billion; the FY93 impact is a revenue loss of \$5.3 billion. This revenue loss would be even greater if any of the Administration's tax reduction initiatives (like enterprise zones or family savings accounts) would cost more than projected, which is likely.

Because there is little meaningful deficit reduction, the Budget was left with some very unpleasant choices: between primary and secondary education, where funding is increased, and higher education, where funding does not fully keep up with current program costs; between AIDS research, and the other activities of Center for Disease Control and National Institutes of Health that were cut to make room; between air transportation, and ground transportation; between planting trees, and forest fire fighting; and between new special services for mothers, and general community services for States and localities; to name only a few. This reshuffling does not free enough resources to deal with our problems; the result is mere tinkering.

The efforts to stimulate private investment and saving—the capital gains tax cut and the Family Savings Plan—also amount to tinkering. The possible gains from these proposals are controversial at best, according to serious studies; as was pointed out at a recent Joint Economic Committee hearing, the investment stimulus from the capital gains tax cut would be no greater than a five basis point reduction of market interest rates—as from 8.00 percent, to 7.95 percent. And the revenue costs of these proposals will grow to sizable amounts.

This temporizing is required by the "no new taxes" pledge. But what does this pledge really mean? About \$16 billion of gross revenue increases are proposed in the budget, as well as \$2.3 billion of offsetting receipts. And last year the President signed a reconciliation bill that raised \$5.7 billion of additional revenues for FY90. Slogans aside, we are raising taxes; but by requiring that it be done in hiding, we are insuring that it will be done badly.

IV. WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

We cannot reduce the deficit and meet our responsibilities without a balanced package that includes both spending cuts and a moderate tax increase.

Past Efforts at Deficit Reduction

Grow out? We have not grown out of the deficit, despite the second-longest postwar economic expansion, and years of rosy scenarios. The current rosy scenario will fare no better.

Spending cuts alone? We have not eliminated the deficit through spending cuts in part because of a lack of political will. We accept economic and technical assumptions that minimize the problem. And we have refused to consider spending cuts that will be painful to our own States and districts. We have fooled ourselves, but we have harmed the country.

We must recognize how difficult it will be to achieve significant spending cuts that will not harm important National interests. Even if we eliminated the "social safety net" means-tested programs, we would still have fallen \$60 billion short of wiping out the deficit in the fiscal year just ended. It would have taken a cut of more than 75 percent on all nondefense discretionary spending—which includes priorities such as science, technology, pollution control, transportation, education, health, and the administration of justice—to eliminate the deficit.

Other needs. We must also consider the National priorities that we have ignored

over the last decade, and the need to accumulate a Social Security reserve against the retirement of the baby boom early in the next century.

In FY89, while we had a \$152 billion total deficit, we accumulated a \$54 billion Social Security surplus that should have been set aside against future benefits, and we ignored an absolute minimum of \$20 billion needs in infrastructure, research, law enforcement, environmental protection, and education. It is inconceivable that we could find \$225 billion in spending cuts to match those calls upon our Federal resources; \$225 billion is about 65 percent of all spending other than Social Security, Medicare, defense, and net interest.

Frequent Misconceptions

Foreign aid. Many of the programs often thought of as targets to balance the budget are in fact quite small. Our deficit in 1990 is expected to be about \$138 billion. Against that figure, total U.S. foreign development, humanitarian, and security aid outlays will be less than \$15 billion; much of that assistance turns around in expenditures for U.S. farm products and manufactured goods, and contributes to international stability.

The Congress. The Congress' total budget (which includes maintenance of the buildings and grounds, the Capitol Police and Guide Service, the Government Printing Office, the Library of Congress, and other activities that are often forgotten) will be under \$3 billion. Obviously, no cuts in these small programs, however desirable, could possibly eliminate the deficit.

The peace dividend. The expected "peace dividend" will help to reduce the deficit. However, there is no peace dividend in the President's budget this year; spending is increased. And we cannot leave our important National priorities, including deficit reduction, dependent upon continued favorable political developments in other nations. Further, witnesses before the Joint Economic Committee have cautioned that any significant peace dividend will be several years in coming. An emphasis on quick savings will leave us with a weakened defense establishment and will waste money in the long run.

The Grace Commission. A number of citizens have written to me advocating the recommendations of the Grace Commission. According to President Reagan's last budget, the Congress approved 90 percent of the Grace Commission recommendations that the President proposed. Of the recommendations he put forward that were not approved by the Congress, President Reagan found worthy of proposing again only about \$7 billion in annual savings, most from user fees (i.e., taxes) and sales of assets. Less than \$2 billion of the first-year savings came from reduced spending.

Procedural remedies. Likewise, procedures to reduce the deficit—budget process reforms and balanced budget amendments—are not the answer. You cannot solve a substantive problem with a procedure; hard choices must still be made, and in the absence of the will to make them, a way will be found to circumvent the procedure. Our experience with Gramm-Rudman proves this. A line-item veto would apply to only a small fraction of spending; it could not reduce Social Security benefits, Medicare payments, the interest on the debt, or defense or other costs involving long-term contractual obligations. Further, a president with a line-item veto would be likely to bargain for spending for a program he wants,

like Star Wars, by offering not to veto a program that a Congressman wants, like a new dam or Federal building in his or her State or district. The result would most likely be more spending, not less.

Outlines of a Solution

Therefore, in my judgment, there is no formula and no procedure that will solve our deficit problem. We need to devise a substantive solution, and summon the political will to enact it. And that solution must be a balanced package of spending cuts for lower priority functions and moderate tax increases. In broad outline, here is what such a package would require.

1. We need a prudent and realistic economic forecast, so that we have an accurate measure of the size of the problem.

Budget estimates that command public respect are a part of the process. I would therefore urge consideration of my proposal for a commission to choose between Administration and CBO economic assumptions. And I urge continuing oversight by the Budget Committees to encourage OMB and CBO to minimize their technical differences, which have been about as important to recent deficit forecasts as have economic assumptions.

2. We need an ultimate deficit target that addresses our Nation's need for both savings and public investment.

The major cost of the deficit is its drain on our Nation's savings and investment. Therefore, we need to reduce the deficit enough to increase national savings and private investment, without starving the Federal sector of funds needed for public investment. At the same time, we must eliminate our current dependence on foreign savings.

As one illustration of a possible goal, we might aim to achieve the levels of national saving and public investment that prevailed in the 1960s and the 1970s—which were far above current levels—by no later than the middle of this decade, without relying on foreign capital.

If we seek to achieve those goals without assuming an increase in private saving, we will have to reduce the on-budget deficit (excluding Social Security) to one percent of GNP by 1995—from its current level of about four percent.

This target leaves room for a separate fund of about one-half of one percent of GNP, outside of the budget, for carefully defined public investments over and above current service levels. This approach might help to convince the taxpayers that the additional spending that they support with their tax dollars is focused on important National needs. It will be essential, however, that we provide the discipline to make that true. The target would also allow for a similar amount of money for payroll tax relief, to reduce the burden on working households.

This is just one possible target. But if our goal for the Nation is increased savings and investment, we will need to fix our numerical target in this fashion.

3. We need a schedule of annual deficit reduction that is neither too tight nor too loose.

A deficit reduction schedule that is too rigorous will lead to "smoke-and-mirrors" trickery, and those games increase spending and hurt our economy in the long run. But a schedule that asks too little will allow our debt to mount, and further erode our economic strength.

Recommendation. This standard has policy implications right now. If we start with the CBO assumptions—which, as a

package, are more prudent than the Administration's—it is not realistic to achieve the required \$74 billion of genuine deficit reduction for 1991 under the current deficit reduction law. It would be not only politically impossible but also economically risky to cut the deficit by well in excess of one percent of GNP in one year.

The target that I suggested would require, again using CBO's estimates about \$35 billion of deficit reduction per year. Economists tell us that deficit reduction of up to one percent of GNP—about \$50 billion—would be economically preferable. However, \$30 billion of deficit reduction is the maximum that has been achieved in any single year under Gramm-Rudman. I suggest that we aim high, especially if we do realize a "peace dividend" through continued favorable political developments abroad. But we should not push so hard for big deficit reductions through defense savings in the short run that we make unsound cuts and waste even more defense dollars in the long run.

4. We need credibility with the public at large, and with the financial markets.

The deficit is fundamentally a long-term problem—eroding our savings and our investment for the future. Therefore, we need a long-term solution. This means actual deficit reduction, rather than revenues borrowed from future fiscal years and expenditures bunted backward and forward to achieve cosmetic success in one particular year.

Long-term policies require credibility. In my experience, the American people know instinctively that our economic course is wrong; they know that we must pay our bills as a society. Therefore, they are prepared to accept a deficit reduction program, provided that it is credible. Our problem is that we have played our budget games for so long—with all of the best intentions, to be sure—that we have no credibility left.

If we propose a long-term substantive program of deficit reduction, the people will be sure that we will back out of it. If we ask the taxpayers for the money to reduce the deficit and to finance needed public investment, they will be convinced that we will waste it.

This loss of credibility and public trust may be the most important cost of our decade of deficits.

We must somehow create an airtight package—one that we can't wiggle out of. We will have to put ourselves on record and on the spot with the public. We may have to buy credibility with some restrictions that we would not choose in the best of all possible worlds—like earmarked taxes, dedicated trust funds, or legislated long-term phase-outs of programs or phase-ins of taxes. And while we will not solve the deficit problem with a procedure, we will need a disciplinary mechanism to attain some minimum of credibility. We will need to craft that mechanism so that it does not reward accounting games as the current process does.

V. CONCLUSION

Even desirable adjustments to budgeting at the margin will only be effective when we restore equilibrium to the core. That is why procedures and formulas are not enough. We need a realistic economic outlook; we need a meaningful target that addresses our needs for national savings and both public and private investment; we need a deficit reduction schedule that wastes neither time nor money; and we need credibility with the American people and, like it or not, financiers around the world.

You on the Budget Committee are the first line of assault on these objectives, and it will be difficult to craft a program that meets all of our goals. But I believe that you owe it to the Nation to face this challenge, and that your best efforts will be rewarded with broad public support.

TRIBUTE TO SOLON B. COUSINS

HON. DONALD M. PAYNE

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. PAYNE of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I would like my colleagues here in the House of Representatives to join me in honoring an outstanding leader, Mr. Solon B. Cousins, who is retiring after more than 35 years in human services, the last 10 of which he has served as the national executive director of the YMCA of the USA.

Mr. Cousins' work in leading the Nation's largest voluntary organization has made him a nationally known authority in the field of human service. His influence has gone beyond his work with the YMCA: he has set standards for the entire not-for-profit sector. The YMCA has indeed been fortunate for his guidance.

His association with the organization has a long and fruitful history. He began implementing important programs and policy for the YMCA when he assumed the role of personnel and planning director of the Chicago Metro YMCA from 1954 to 1966. He continued to advance the organization as general director of the greater Boston YMCA from 1966 to 1970. His leadership proved invaluable as head of the National Board of the YMCA's Urban Group, an association, at the time, of the 17 largest YMCA's in North America, from 1970 to 1973. Prior to assuming the position of national executive director with the YMCA, he served as executive director of the United Way of Metropolitan Chicago, the Nation's largest United Way organization, from 1974 to 1980.

In 1987, he received the United Way of America's National Professional Leadership Award, a top honor in the not-for-profit sector. He earned the award for implementing a service system within the YMCA that created a more decentralized and efficient organization. YMCA staff with special skills are now able to share them with everyone in the organization across the country.

In my own service as a national volunteer officer of both the YMCA of the USA and the National Assembly, I have worked closely with Solon Cousins over many years. My work with the YMCA focused on young people—in the United States as well as other nations—and the importance of developing programs which stress education and social responsibility. Under his guidance, the organization has moved forward with programs promoting strong families, youth leadership, healthy lifestyles, community development, and international understanding.

As president of the National Assembly of National Voluntary Health and Social Welfare Organizations from 1985 to 1989, he improved

communications and cooperation among the member agencies and helped to advance their work. He also served as chairman of their affiliate organization, the National Collaboration for Youth, a coalition of 15 national youth serving organizations founded in 1973.

His commitment to important public policy issues is exemplified by his establishing high quality child care standards and encouraging new initiatives for affordable housing and the homeless through the Y-House and Y-Haven programs. During his tenure, the number of people served by the YMCA increased from 10.9 million to 13.5 million.

The YMCA has become the country's largest child care provider, as well as the Nation's largest non-governmental provider of single resident occupancy housing, and health and fitness services.

I know that Mr. Cousins is held in high esteem by staff, volunteers, and his peers within the not-for-profit sector. The YMCA has benefited from the intelligent, insightful, and energetic approach he has brought to the position of national executive director.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. Cousins has inspired many people through his devoted service. I ask my colleagues to join me today in paying tribute to this very special person.

PERSONAL EXPLANATION

HON. BILL NELSON

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. NELSON of Florida. Mr. Speaker, had I been present on February 28, 1990, I would have voted "aye" on rollcall No. 18.

H.R. 4139, COMPETITIVE NORTHEAST RAIL FREIGHT SERVICE ACT OF 1990

HON. NORMAN F. LENT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. LENT. Mr. Speaker, since Senator D'AMATO and I jointly introduced the Competitive Northeast Rail Freight Service Act on February 28, questions have been raised concerning the absence of explicit language providing for labor protection powers to be exercised by the Interstate Commerce Commission, in the event that the ICC must determine the terms and conditions of trackage rights for the Delaware & Hudson Railroad over Conrail's line into Hagerstown, MD, from Harrisburg, PA. The fear has been expressed that the agency or the courts might interpret the absence of such language as a prohibition on any ICC action to provide protection for displaced employees.

Tying the hands of the ICC was not our intention. This legislation is not intended to affect the normal labor-management balance in the railroad industry one way or another; neither is it intended to reduce or enlarge the ICC's usual powers to order labor protection in terminal-rights cases. To confirm this intent, and to make certain that unwarranted infer-

ences are not drawn from the bill's original language, we intend to offer a clarifying amendment on this point when the bill is considered. Meanwhile, we will redouble our efforts to see that the vitally needed Hagerstown trackage rights are made available to the D&H, preferably by good-faith private-sector negotiation, but by ICC action if need be.

SUPPORT FOR NAMIBIAN DEMOCRACY

HON. ROBERT G. TORRICELLI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. TORRICELLI. Mr. Speaker, on February 9, the Constitution for an independent Namibia was adopted by its newly elected Constituent Assembly. On March 21, Namibia will become independent and will have a democratic constitution appropriate for a new democracy in this era of change.

This event may be taken for granted or even overlooked by a world which has been swept by startling political changes in Eastern Europe, Panama, South Africa, and the Soviet Union. The independence of Namibia is a success story for democracy, however, which should not be slighted. For decades Namibia was racked by a guerrilla war led by Sam Nujoma and the Southwest Africa Peoples' Organization [SWAPO] against the South African administration.

As recently as 2 years ago, it would have been hard to predict a peaceful solution to this war. South Africa, however, did agree to grant full independence to the territory in exchange for a full Cuban troop withdrawal from Angola. The United Nations monitored, administered, and declared free and fair, an election under U.N. Resolution 435 in which well over 90 percent of the people voted. The people gave SWAPO a 57-percent majority but elected a Constituent Assembly with diverse opposition parties. The new assembly adopted a constitution establishing separation of powers, checks and balances, a bill of rights, freedom of the press, and other measures to give Namibia a bright start to its future. Sam Nujoma of SWAPO has been unanimously elected by the Constituent Assembly as Namibia's first President.

The story of the process of independence in Namibia will be crucially important in the context of the future of South Africa and other countries, which are evolving toward democratic ideals.

Sanctions against Namibia will be lifted by the United States on March 21. We in the Congress should make clear our strong support for the move toward democracy in southern Africa, as well as in Eastern Europe and Central America. As this trend of democratization establishes itself, the Congress and the American people must be supportive of every new initiative, such as that which has led to Namibia's emergence as a democratic state.

A TRIBUTE TO OLIVER L. HOLMES

HON. GEORGE MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, I would like to take a few moments to pay tribute to Oliver L. Holmes on the occasion of his retirement from the city council of Pleasant Hill, CA.

Oliver's 9 years of dedicated service to the city of Pleasant Hill began when he was first elected to the council in 1980 and continued through his reelection in 1985. His devotion to his work and the city did not go unappreciated. The residents of Pleasant Hill elected him to serve as mayor in 1982 and again in 1986. Oliver also served as the chair of the Redevelopment Agency in 1984-85.

Mr. Holmes' activity within the Pleasant Hill community began long before his membership on the city council. For 10 years he was a director for the Pleasant Hill Recreation and Park District; he chaired the East Bay Regional Advisory Committee; and was director of the statewide Association of Park Districts. He was also able to spend time as a teacher and consultant to West Valley College and as a member of the joint authority governing board, which administers the financing of the Pleasant Hill Community Center and the police services building. Oliver has been active and a long time supporter of his church, Friends Abroad, and the Pleasant Hill Foundation.

Oliver's keen interest in the recreation and park district and in the preservation of parklands and open spaces stems from his 30-year career as a professional forester. In his personal time, Oliver enjoys traveling with his wife, Rachel, and is an avid player and fan of golf and can often be found on the local golf course.

Mr. Speaker, I ask that my colleagues in the House of Representatives join with me in congratulating Oliver Holmes for his outstanding career with the city of Pleasant Hill and to wish him the very best in his retirement.

AMBASSADOR ADOLPH DUBS DIED AS HE HAD LIVED—IN THE SERVICE OF HIS COUNTRY

HON. PAUL E. KANJORSKI

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. KANJORSKI. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to pay tribute to and remember Ambassador Adolph Dubs, the U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan, who lived and died in the service of his country. February 14, 1990, commemorated the 11th anniversary of the kidnapping and murder of Ambassador Dubs.

Ambassador Dubs was born in Chicago on August 4, 1920. After receiving a bachelor of arts degree from Beloit College, WI, in 1942, he joined the Navy and served aboard destroyers as a lieutenant in the Pacific theater.

Following his discharge, Mr. Dubs attended Georgetown University. In 1950, he joined the Foreign Service and served subsequently as resident officer in Kulmbach, Germany; at the Embassy in Monrovia, Liberia; and at the Embassy in Ottawa, Canada. Following his Canadian assignment, Mr. Dubs entered a 2-year course on Russian area and language training—first in Washington at the Foreign Service Institute and, later, at Harvard. He served on the Soviet desk in the Department from 1959 until 1961 and then at the Embassy in Moscow for 2 years as a political officer.

He returned to Washington in 1963 and was assigned for 1 year to the National War College. He served as a political counselor at the Embassy in Belgrade from 1964 until 1968, receiving the Department's Superior Honor Award. He returned to the Department as Director of the Office of Soviet Union Affairs in the Bureau of European Affairs and served in this position until 1971.

Later, Mr. Dubs attended the Senior Seminar in Foreign Policy at the Foreign Service Institute. Following his studies, he was named Deputy Chief of Mission in Moscow. In addition, he served as chargé d'Affaires there for about a year. Mr. Dubs returned to the United States in 1974 and became diplomat-in-residence at Southwestern University, in Memphis TN.

Ambassador Dubs was nominated by President Carter as envoy to Afghanistan on June 1, 1979, and was confirmed by the Senate on June 23, 1979. He served in Kabul for 7 months before he was seized from his car while en route from his home to work at the Embassy. He was taken hostage by unknown terrorists, brought to the Hotel Kabul downtown, held in a room by his captors, and later killed in a shootout between the captors and Afghan police.

Upon learning of Ambassador Dubs' death, President Carter paid tribute to the diplomat:

I am shocked and saddened by the murder of Ambassador Dubs in Kabul this morning. The act of brutality which took his life has deprived our Nation of one of its most able public servants. Throughout his distinguished career in the Foreign Service, Ambassador Dubs took on difficult and challenging jobs, performing them with exemplary dedication and skill. He died as he lived—in the service of his country—and the manner of his death redoubles our dedication to the struggle against the kind of senseless violence which took his life. My thoughts and prayers are with the family of Ambassador Dubs.

Ambassador Adolph Dubs was laid to rest with full military honors at Arlington National Cemetery on February 20, 1979. Mrs. Mary Ann Dubs, the Ambassador's widow and originally from the 11th Congressional District of Pennsylvania, accepted the Secretary's Award, the State Department's highest award, posthumously for her husband. The inscription read, "For inspiring leadership, outstanding courage, and devotion to duty for which he gave his life, Kabul, February 14, 1979."

I invite my colleagues in the House of Representatives to pause and honor Ambassador Adolph "Spike" Dubs on the 11th anniversary of his death. The life of Ambassador Dubs exemplifies the greatest devotion to public service. We should all take his lead and learn from

his self-sacrifice, bravery, and great sense of duty.

THANKS TO DALE CRANE

HON. BRUCE F. VENTO

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 5, 1990

Mr. VENTO. Mr. Speaker, I want to publicly thank and acknowledge the efforts of Dale Crane, who recently left as staff director of the Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands which I've had the privilege to chair the past three sessions of Congress. For over 14 years Dale Crane has been an integral part of the decisionmaking policy process on nearly every land issue and question that was considered by the U.S. Congress. With his guidance the subcommittee enacted more than 100 measures in the 100th Congress. Dale has been a leader, an innovator, a counselor, friend, and educator for me and other Members of Congress and to numerous staff in both House and Senate.

I have especially appreciated Dale's loyalty, his candor and his passion for both the work and the issues. Dale Crane truly cares for this nation's natural and cultural resources. Dale's efforts took on special meaning during recent years in the establishment of two magnificent new national parks, Great Basin National Park in Nevada, and our most recent national park in American Samoa, an ancient tropical rain forest, the 50th national park. He worked on legislation to help save Mono Lake, our Nation's first scenic area designation and toiled to protect Lake Tahoe. He was particularly active in the protection of wild and scenic rivers such as the Kern, the Kings and Merced recent designations in California. He worked hard on wilderness legislation, with the Nevada Wilderness Act passing at the end of the first session of this 101st Congress. And he worked on park bills including the establishment of Jimmy Carter National Historic Site and the numerous measures to expand Everglades National Park and Big Cypress Preserve. Throughout his service in natural resources roles, surely Dale Crane's vision of our Nation's natural resources has been forward looking to ensure that these resources would be conserved and preserved today for American generations tomorrow.

The Congress and this humble Congressman and subcommittee chairman give our sincere thanks and gratitude to Dale Crane for the role he played so well these past 14 years as staff, as chief of staff and confidant. Surely we will not soon forget the lessons and values, the mission and responsibilities Dale shared with us. Hopefully, we too will retain the reasoned passion for the conservation and care of our Nation's natural and cultural resources Dale Crane so ably personifies. Thank you, Dale.

SENATE COMMITTEE MEETINGS

Title IV of Senate Resolution 4, agreed to by the Senate on February 4, 1977, calls for establishment of a system for a computerized schedule of all meetings and hearings of Senate

committees, subcommittees, joint committees, and committees of conference. This title requires all such committees to notify the Office of the Senate Daily Digest - designated by the Rules Committee - of the time, place, and purpose of the meetings, when scheduled, and any cancellations or changes in the meetings as they occur.

As an additional procedure along with the computerization of this information, the Office of the Senate Daily Digest will prepare this information for printing in the Extensions of Remarks section of the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD on Monday and Wednesday of each week.

Any changes in committee scheduling will be indicated by placement of an asterisk to the left of the name of the unit conducting such meetings.

Meetings scheduled for Tuesday, March 6, 1990, may be found in the Daily Digest of today's RECORD.

MEETINGS SCHEDULED

MARCH 7

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

To hold hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve U.S. agricultural programs, focusing on the dairy industry.

SR-332

Special on Aging

To hold hearings to examine marketing abuses in the medigap insurance industry.

SD-628

9:30 a.m.

Armed Services

Readiness, Sustainability and Support Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 2171, to authorize funds for fiscal year 1991 for military functions of the Department of Defense and to prescribe military personnel levels for fiscal year 1991, focusing on the operation and maintenance programs including the impact of the Defense Management Report on logistics programs.

SR-222

Energy and Natural Resources

Business meeting, to consider pending calendar business.

SD-366

Environment and Public Works

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Environmental Protection Agency.

SD-406

Labor and Human Resources

To resume hearings on S. 2104, to revise the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (P.L. 88-352) to restore and strengthen civil rights laws that ban discrimination in employment.

SD-430

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Office of the Secretary of the Treasury and Departmental Offices.

SD-116

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
International Finance and Monetary
Policy Subcommittee
To hold oversight hearings on proposed
legislation authorizing funds for the
Export Administration Act.

SD-538

Foreign Relations
European Affairs Subcommittee
To hold hearings to examine NATO
military strategy.

SD-419

2:00 p.m.

Armed Services
To hold hearings on operational require-
ments and military strategies for stra-
tegic forces.

SR-222

Foreign Relations
To hold hearings on the status of the
arms control negotiations.

SD-419

2:30 p.m.

Judiciary
To hold hearings on pending nomina-
tions.

SD-226

Commission on Security and Cooperation
in Europe
To hold hearings to examine the current
domestic and international develop-
ments affecting Soviet Jews.

B318 Rayburn Building

MARCH 8

8:30 a.m.

Office of Technology Assessment
The Board, to meet to consider pending
calendar business.

H-131, Capitol

9:00 a.m.

Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To resume closed hearings on proposed
budget estimates for fiscal year 1991
for defense programs, focusing on the
unified commands.

SD-124

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Sub-
committee
To hold hearings on proposed budget es-
timates for fiscal year 1991 for the En-
vironmental Protection Agency.

S-126, Capitol

Armed Services
To hold a closed meeting on the issue of
unauthorized appropriations for fiscal
year 1991, reprogramming requests,
and to review those programs which
fall within the committee's jurisdic-
tion as contained in the President's
proposed budget for fiscal year 1991
with a view towards making its recom-
mendations to the Committee on the
Budget.

SR-222

Energy and Natural Resources
Business meeting, to consider pending
calendar business.

SD-366

Environment and Public Works
Toxic Substances, Environmental Over-
sight, Research and Development Sub-
committee
To hold hearings to examine the effects
of lead exposure on children's health
and educational performance.

SD-406

Governmental Affairs
To hold hearings to examine the De-
partments of Labor's and Health and

Human Services' high risk manage-
ment problems.

SD-342

Rules and Administration
Business meeting, to consider pending
legislation on campaign finance
reform.

SR-301

Small Business
To hold hearings on implications of
technology transfer on small business.

SR-428A

Veterans' Affairs
Business meeting, to consider budget
recommendations for veterans pro-
grams and proposed legislation to reor-
ganize the Veterans Health Service
and Research Administration.

SR-418

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary
Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget es-
timates for fiscal year 1991 for the De-
partment of Commerce.

S-146, Capitol

Banking, Housing, and Urban Affairs
To resume hearings on proposals au-
thorizing funds for the Defense Pro-
duction Act of 1950, including S. 1379,
the Defense Production Act Amend-
ments of 1989.

SD-538

Foreign Relations
To hold hearings to examine support for
East European democracy.

SD-419

Judiciary
Business meeting, to consider pending
calendar business.

SD-226

11:00 a.m.

Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget es-
timates for fiscal year 1991 for the Na-
tional Transportation Safety Board
and the Federal Highway Administra-
tion.

SD-138

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
To hold hearings on the nomination of
Donald R. Quartel, Jr., of Florida, to
be a Federal Maritime Commissioner.

SR-253

1:30 p.m.

Environment and Public Works
To hold hearings on the President's pro-
posed budget request for fiscal year
1991 for the U.S. Fish and Wildlife
Service.

SD-406

2:00 p.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Agricultural Production and Stabilization
of Prices Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed legislation
to strengthen and improve U.S. agri-
cultural programs, focusing on the
wheat industry.

SR-332

Energy and Natural Resources
To hold hearings on S.J. Res. 154, to
consent to certain amendments en-
acted by the Hawaii State legislature
to the Hawaii Homes Commission Act
of 1920.

SD-366

Foreign Relations
To hold hearings on the nominations of
Everett E. Briggs, of New Hampshire,
to be Ambassador to the Republic of
Portugal, Edward M. Rowell, of Cali-

fornia, to be Ambassador to Luxem-
bourg, Robert G. Joseph, of Virginia,
for the rank of Ambassador during his
tenure of service as U.S. Commissioner
on the U.S.-USSR Standing Consulta-
tive Commission, and John J. Maresca,
of Connecticut, for the rank of Amba-
sador during his tenure of service as
Head of the U.S. Delegation to the
Conference on Confidence and Securi-
ty Building Measures (CSBM).

SD-419

Labor and Human Resources
Children, Family, Drugs, and Alcoholism
Subcommittee
To hold hearings to examine the impact
of drugs on the child welfare system.

SD-430

Small Business
To hold hearings on the President's pro-
posed budget request for fiscal year
1991 for the Small Business Adminis-
tration and on proposed legislation au-
thorizing funds for the Small Business
Administration.

SR-428A

MARCH 9

9:30 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry
Agricultural Research and General Legis-
lation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed legislation
to strengthen and improve U.S. agri-
cultural programs, focusing on nox-
ious weeds.

SR-332

Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Science, Technology, and Space Subcom-
mittee
To hold hearings to review the Presi-
dent's budget request for fiscal year
1991 for the National Aeronautics and
Space Administration (NASA).

SR-253

Environment and Public Works
Water Resources, Transportation, and In-
frastructure Subcommittee
To hold hearings on Federal participa-
tion in magnetic levitation transporta-
tion systems.

SD-406

Joint Economic
To hold hearings on the employment-
unemployment situation for February.
Room to be announced

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations
Legislative Branch Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget es-
timates for fiscal year 1991 for the
Office of the Secretary of the Senate,
the Office of the Sergeant at Arms,
and the Congressional Budget Office.

SD-116

Foreign Relations
East Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommit-
tee
Terrorism, Narcotics and International
Operations Subcommittee
To hold joint hearings on narcotics traf-
ficking activities in South East Asia.

SD-419

Governmental Affairs
To hold joint hearings with the Commit-
tee on Labor and Human Resources to
review the implementation of the Clin-
ical Laboratory Improvement Act of
1988 (P.L. 100-578).

SD-430

Judiciary
To hold hearings on S. 640, to regulate
interstate commerce by providing for

uniform standards of liability for harm resulting from general aviation accidents.

SD-226

Labor and Human Resources

To hold joint hearings with the Committee on Governmental Affairs to review the implementation of the Clinical Laboratory Improvement Act of 1988 (P.L. 100-578).

SD-430

1:00 p.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Mineral Resources Development and Production Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 1908 and H.R. 737, bills to amend the Stock Raising Homestead Act to prescribe conditions under which U.S.-owned hardrock mineral deposits may be mined or removed from lands whose surfaces are privately owned.

SD-366

MARCH 15

9:30 a.m.

Veterans' Affairs

To hold joint hearings with the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs to review legislative recommendations of the Paralyzed Veterans of America, the Jewish War Veterans, the American Ex-Prisoners of War, the Blinded Veterans Association, and the Military Order of the Purple Heart.

SH-216

MARCH 20

9:00 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

Conservation and Forestry Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve agricultural programs, focusing on conservation issues.

SR-332

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations

Defense Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for military health programs.

SD-192

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and related agencies.

SD-138

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Interior Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Minerals Management Service, Department of the Interior, and the Smithsonian Institution.

S-128, Capitol

Appropriations

Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for the Small Business Administration, and the U.S. Information Agency.

S-146, Capitol

2:00 p.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

To hold hearings on S. 2088, to extend authority for Titles I and II of the Energy Policy Conservation Act (P.L.

94-163), to expand the strategic petroleum reserve (SPR) to one billion barrels, and to provide for predrawdown diversion authority for SPR oil.

SD-366

2:30 p.m.

Appropriations

Transportation Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Panama Canal Commission.

RD-116

MARCH 21

9:30 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

To resume hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve U.S. agricultural programs.

SR-332

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and related agencies.

SD-192

Governmental Affairs

To hold hearings on proposed legislation to establish a position of chief financial officer.

SD-342

Small Business

To hold hearings to examine the problems that confront small businesses in complying with the Environmental Protection Agency's regulations on underground storage tanks.

SR-428A

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on the Food and Drug Administration, Commodity Futures Trading Commission, Farm Credit Administration, and Farm Credit System Assistance Board.

SD-138

Appropriations

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the United States Secret Service, and the Internal Revenue Service.

SD-116

Judiciary

Constitution Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S.J. Res. 232 and S.J. Res. 233, measures proposing an amendment to the U.S. Constitution with respect to the impeachment of Article III judges.

SD-226

2:00 p.m.

Appropriations

VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the National Institute of Building Sciences, the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation, and the Selective Service System.

SD-138

MARCH 22

9:30 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry

Agricultural Research and General Legislation Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 2108, to promote the production of organically produced foods through the establishment of a national standard production for organically produced products and providing for the labeling of such products.

SR-332

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and related agencies.

SD-138

Governmental Affairs

To continue hearings on proposed legislation to establish a position of chief financial officer.

SD-342

Veterans' Affairs

To hold hearings on S. 1398 and S. 1332, to provide for the realignment or major mission change of certain medical facilities of the Department of Veterans Affairs.

SR-418

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Defense Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on management reforms.

SD-192

Appropriations

Foreign Operations Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance.

RD-106

Appropriations

VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the American Battle Monuments Commission, Cemetery Expenses (Army), the National Credit Union Administration, and the United States Court of Veterans Appeals.

SD-116

2:00 p.m.

Armed Services

Readiness, Sustainability and Support Subcommittee

To resume hearings on S. 2171, to authorize funds for fiscal year 1991 for military functions of the Department of Defense and to prescribe military personnel levels for fiscal year 1991, focusing on the operation and maintenance programs, including the impact of the Defense Management Report on logistics programs.

SR-222

MARCH 23

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on

the Animal and Plant Health Inspection Service, Food Safety and Inspection Service, and Agricultural Marketing Service.

SD-138

Finance

Private Retirement Plans and Oversight of the Internal Revenue Service Subcommittee

To hold hearings to review the Internal Revenue Code rules governing private pension plans and options for simplification.

SD-215

MARCH 26

10:30 a.m.

Appropriations

Military Construction Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for military construction programs.

RD-192

MARCH 27

9:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Defense Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on manpower and personnel programs.

SD-192

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and related agencies.

SD-138

Energy and Natural Resources

Energy Regulation and Conservation Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 1355, to assist private industry in establishing a uniform residential energy efficiency rating system.

RD-366

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Consumer Product Safety Commission, the Consumer Information Center, and the Office of Consumer Affairs.

S-126, Capitol

Appropriations

Interior Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Indian Health Service of the Department of Health and Human Services, and the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, Department of the Interior.

S-128, Capitol

2:30 p.m.

Appropriations

Foreign Operations Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on Central America.

SD-366

MARCH 28

9:30 a.m.

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and related agencies.

SD-192

Commerce, Science, and Transportation Science, Technology, and Space Subcommittee

To hold hearings to review the President's proposed budget request for fiscal year 1991 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, focusing on the space station and space shuttle programs.

SR-253

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Bureau of Public Debt, and the Office of Personnel Management.

SD-116

MARCH 29

9:30 a.m.

Agriculture, Nutrition, and Forestry Agricultural Research and General Legislation Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation to strengthen and improve U.S. agricultural programs, focusing on research issues.

SR-332

Appropriations

Labor, Health and Human Services, Education Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Labor, Health and Human Services, Education, and related agencies.

SD-116

Commerce, Science, and Transportation Science, Technology, and Space Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed legislation to reauthorize the National Earthquake Hazards Reduction Program.

SR-253

Energy and Natural Resources

To hold oversight hearings on the Department of Energy's Decision Plan relating to the opening of the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant (WIPP) in Carlsbad, New Mexico, and on proposed legislation to withdraw the public lands surrounding the WIPP site.

RD-366

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Defense Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on Army posture.

SD-192

Appropriations

VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the National Science Foundation.

S-126, Capitol

Appropriations

Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration and the National Institute for Standards and Technology.

S-146, Capitol

Appropriations

Transportation Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Urban Mass Transportation Administration and the Washington Metropolitan Area Transit Authority.

SD-138

MARCH 30

9:30 a.m.

Energy and Natural Resources

Energy Research and Development Subcommittee

To hold hearings on S. 639, to establish a research and development program for the development of a domestic hydrogen fuel production capability.

SD-366

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on the Farmers Home Administration, Federal Crop Insurance Corporation, and the Rural Electrification Administration.

SD-138

APRIL 2

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Interior Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Bureau of Land Management and the Office of Surface Mining, both of the Department of the Interior.

S-128, Capitol

APRIL 3

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Defense Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on Air Force posture.

SD-192

2:30 p.m.

Appropriations

Foreign Operations Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on U.S. bilateral assistance.

SD-192

APRIL 4

10:00 a.m.

Appropriations

Agriculture and Related Agencies Subcommittee

To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Agriculture, focusing on Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Foreign Agricultural Service, General Sales Manager, and Soil Conservation Service.

SD-138

APRIL 5

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on Navy and Marine posture.

SD-192

Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration and the Research and Special Programs Administration.

SD-138

Appropriations
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the U.S. Postal Service, and the National Archives.

SD-116

2:00 p.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

SD-192

APRIL 15

2:30 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on population policy and resources.

SD-138

APRIL 18

9:00 a.m.
Veterans' Affairs
To hold joint hearings with the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs to review the legislative recommendations of the AMVETS, the Vietnam Veterans of America, the Veterans of World War I, and the Non-Commissioned Officers Association.

SH-216

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

SD-138

2:00 p.m.
Appropriations
Interior Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the National Park Service, Department of the Interior, and the National Gallery of Art.

S-128, Capitol

APRIL 19

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Legal Services Corporation.

S-146, Capitol

Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Federal Railroad Administration and the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (Amtrak).

SD-138

Appropriations
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Office of Management and Budget, and the Executive Office of the President.

SD-116

2:00 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on multilateral development banks.

SD-138

APRIL 23

2:00 p.m.
Appropriations
Interior Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Forest Service of the Department of Agriculture.

SD-192

APRIL 24

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on the National Guard and Reserves.

SD-192

2:30 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on refugee programs.

SD-138

APRIL 25

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Office of the Attorney General.

S-146, Capitol

Appropriations
Treasury, Postal Service, General Government Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the General Services Administration.

SD-116

APRIL 26

9:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

S-126, Capitol

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold closed hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for defense intelligence programs.

S-407, Capitol

Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of State.

S-146, Capitol

Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the General Accounting Office.

SD-138

APRIL 30

2:00 p.m.
Appropriations
Interior Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for fossil energy and clean coal technology programs of the Department of Energy.

S-128, Capitol

MAY 1

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Supreme Court of the United States, the Judiciary, and the Federal Trade Commission.

S-146, Capitol

2:30 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on eastern Europe.

SD-138

MAY 2

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Commerce, Justice, State, and Judiciary Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and the Drug Enforcement Administration, Department of Justice.

S-146, Capitol

MAY 3

9:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold closed hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on strategic programs.

S-407, Capitol

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Interior Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the National Endowment for the Arts, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Bureau of Mines, all of the Department of the Interior.

S-128, Capitol

Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the U.S. Coast Guard.

SD-138

10:30 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Council on Environmental Quality, the National Space Council, and the Office of Science and Technology Policy.

SD-116

MAY 4

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Resolution Trust Corporation.

SD-138

MAY 8

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on tactical airpower.

SD-192

2:30 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on U.S. military assistance.

SD-138

MAY 10

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on land warfare.

SD-192

Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Veterans Administration.

S-126, Capitol

Appropriations
Transportation Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Federal Aviation Administration.

SD-138

MAY 14

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Interior Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for activities of the Secretary of the Interior, the Secretary of Energy, and the Secretary of Agriculture.

S-128, Capitol

MAY 15

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on sea-power.

SD-192

11:00 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Veterans' Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, and independent agencies.

SD-138

MAY 16

11:00 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Veterans' Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, and independent agencies.

SD-138

MAY 17

9:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense, focusing on space programs.

S-407, Capitol

11:00 a.m.
Appropriations
VA, HUD, and Independent Agencies Subcommittee
To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Departments of Veterans' Affairs, Housing and Urban Development, and independent agencies.

SD-138

MAY 22

9:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold closed hearings on proposed budget estimates for the Department of Defense, focusing on classified programs.

S-407, Capitol

2:30 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on the global environment.

SD-138

MAY 24

9:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To resume hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for defense programs.

SD-192

JUNE 5

9:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Defense Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for the Department of Defense.

SD-192

2:30 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance.

SD-138

JUNE 12

2:30 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance, focusing on organization and accountability.

SD-138

JUNE 19

9:00 a.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To hold hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance.

Room to be announced

2:30 p.m.
Appropriations
Foreign Operations Subcommittee
To continue hearings on proposed budget estimates for fiscal year 1991 for foreign assistance.

Room to be announced

CANCELLATIONS

MARCH 23

9:30 a.m.
Commerce, Science, and Transportation
Aviation Subcommittee
To resume hearings on S. 1741, to increase competition among commercial air carriers at the Nation's major airports.

SR-253

POSTPONEMENTS

MARCH 6

2:00 p.m.
Select on Indian Affairs
Business meeting, to review those programs which fall within the committee's jurisdiction as contained in the President's proposed budget for fiscal year 1991 with a view toward making its recommendations to the Committee on the Budget.

SR-485

MARCH 7

9:30 a.m.
Governmental Affairs
To hold hearings on S. 1978, to promote

U.S. trade and technology interests by reorganizing the Department of Commerce into a Department of Industry and Technology.

10:00 a.m.
Appropriations
To hold hearings on the President's proposed budget for fiscal year 1991.

2:00 p.m.
Appropriations
To continue hearings on the President's
proposed budget for fiscal year 1991.

SD-342

SD-192

SD-192